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HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND WALES

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND WALES

From 1485 to 1910

WITH MAPS AND PLANS

By
HOWELL T. EVANS. M.A.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME II

THE EDUCATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., LTD.
TRADE STREET, CARDIFF

P. C. F. Ellis

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Oct 1914.

P. F. Ellis.

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~~City of~~ Cardiff High School for Boys

PREFACE

THE author hopes that this book will prove as acceptable as its companion volume, and as useful in meeting present-day requirements.

Every effort has been made to embody the most recent results of historical research. Without enumerating all whose writings have been consulted, the following may be taken as typical,—Gardiner, Lecky, Morley, McCarthy, Innes, Rhys and Jones, as well as the writers of the "Twelve English Statesmen" and "Men of Action" series.

The author is under the greatest obligation to Mr. E. E. Hughes, M.A., of the University College, Cardiff, whose criticism and suggestions have been invaluable. Mr. T. Morris, B.A., has kindly revised the proofs.

CARDIFF

September 1, 1910.

P. F. Ellis

Form 1a.

High School

Cardiff.

1882

1. The first of the year was a very
cold one, and the weather was
very disagreeable. The wind was
very strong, and the rain was
very heavy. The snow was
very deep, and the ice was
very thick. The ground was
very hard, and the trees were
very bare. The water was
very cold, and the air was
very dry. The sun was
very bright, and the moon was
very full. The stars were
very clear, and the sky was
very blue. The clouds were
very white, and the rain was
very clear. The snow was
very soft, and the ice was
very smooth. The ground was
very clean, and the trees were
very green. The water was
very warm, and the air was
very moist. The sun was
very dim, and the moon was
very small. The stars were
very faint, and the sky was
very grey. The clouds were
very dark, and the rain was
very muddy. The snow was
very hard, and the ice was
very rough. The ground was
very dirty, and the trees were
very brown. The water was
very hot, and the air was
very humid. The sun was
very bright, and the moon was
very full. The stars were
very clear, and the sky was
very blue. The clouds were
very white, and the rain was
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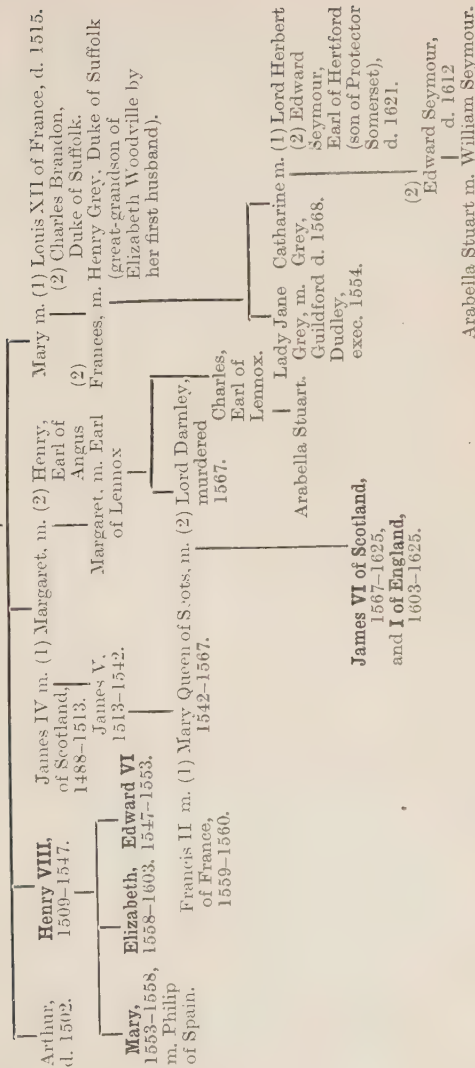
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- 1) Anglesea, Carnarvon & Merioneth. J. A. W.
- 2) Denbigh, Flint & Montgomery J. of Ch.
- 3) Radnor, Brecon & Glamorgan anybody.
- 4) Pembroke, Carmarthen & Cardigan -

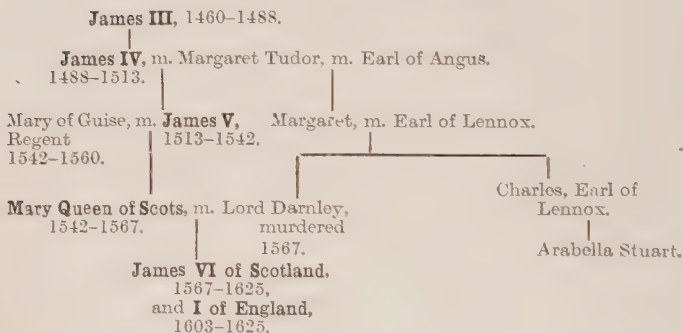
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Henry VII. m. Elizabeth of York.

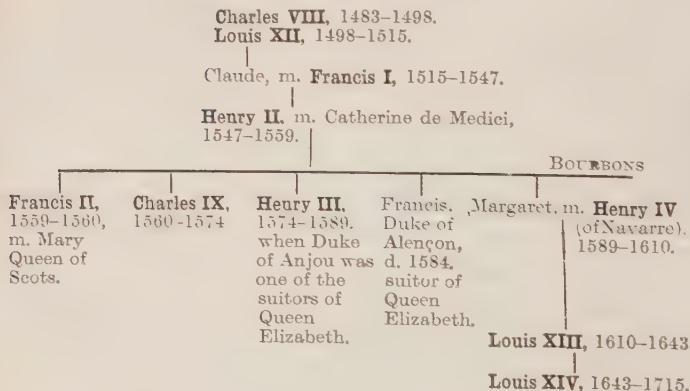
1485-1509.



SOVEREIGNS OF SCOTLAND, 1460-1603.



KINGS OF FRANCE, 1483-1715.



Henry VII (1485-1509) } Junior C.W.B.
 Henry VIII (1509-1547) } July 1918
 Edward VI (1549-1553) } (1485-1715)
 Mary I (1553-1558) } Senior C.W.B.
 Elizabeth I (1558-1603) } July 1914.
 James I (1603-1625) } (1485-1715)

BOOK V

THE TUDORS. 1485-1603

CHAPTER I

HENRY VII (RICHMOND). 1485-1509

Born 1456 at Pembroke; married, 1486, Elizabeth of York.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS:—

Scotland. James III (1460-1488).

James IV (1488-1513).

France. Charles VIII (1483-1498).

Louis XII (1498-1515).

Spain. Ferdinand, King of Aragon (1479-1516).

Isabella, Queen of Castile (1474-1504).

Henry's title—Conspiracies of Lovel, Simnel and Perkin Warbeck—
 The Cornish revolt—Home policy—Empson and Dudley—Star
 Chamber—Foreign policy—Treaty of Etaples—*Magnus Inter-*
cursus—*Malus Intercursus*—Marriage alliances with Spain and
 Scotland—Ireland—Poynings' Law.

THE victory of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, over Richard III
 at Bosworth, in 1485, was justly regarded as a Welsh triumph;

The for the Tudors were descended from the lords of
 Tudors. Penmynydd in Anglesey. The family first came
 into prominence when Owen Tudor, having carved out for himself
 a distinguished career, married Catharine of France, the widowed
 queen of Henry V. They had two sons, Edmund Earl of Rich-
 mond, and Jasper Earl of Pembroke. Edmund died at Pembroke
 in 1456. His son Henry Tudor, who was born in that year, was
 thus left to the care of his uncle Jasper. While an exile in Brittany
 Henry was put forward by the Lancastrians as their candidate
 for the throne of England. The landing of uncle and nephew
 at Milford Haven on August 25, 1485, with the red dragon as their
 standard, called forth the unbounded enthusiasm of the Welsh,
 who were inspired by the prophecies of the bards that a Welsh
 prince would one day wield the sceptre of Britain. With an army

of Welshmen they overcame Richard III on the famous field of Bosworth. Henry was crowned king and thus became the founder of the Welsh Tudor dynasty.

This Welsh national triumph could hardly have been won but for the assistance of the powerful Welshman, Sir Rhys ab Thomas,

Sir Rhys ab Thomas, d. 1527. grandson of that Gruffydd ab Nicholas who had fallen on the Yorkist side at Mortimer's Cross in 1461.

A descendant of the old princes of South Wales he possessed immense influence in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. He fought at the head of a strong body of horsemen at Bosworth, for which support Henry made him constable of Brecon, and Chamberlain of Carmarthen and Cardigan.

The early years of Henry's reign were a period of restlessness and anxiety. He declared that he was entitled to rule both by inheritance and by judgment of battle, but he was

Henry's Title. careful to have his title confirmed by Parliament.

It was not his intention to govern as king of a faction, and he did much to ensure peace between the rival parties of York and Lancaster. He conciliated the Yorkists by marrying Elizabeth of York, the heiress of Edward IV; yet he would not allow her claims to

Early Years of the Reign. have any weight, and the marriage was not celebrated until Henry had been solemnly crowned. He also

wisely refrained from any general confiscation of estates, which had been the practice in previous years. On the other hand, many Lancastrians who had shared exile with Henry now found favour at court, for it was natural that he should wish to reward those by whose help he had won the throne. With callous foresight he imprisoned Edward, Earl of Warwick, the son and heir of Clarence, for he was the next male heir to the throne.

The most implacable among his opponents were not prepared to remain inactive without further efforts. The first sign of unrest

Conspiracies— was the conspiracy set on foot by Lord Lovel and (1) Lord Humphrey Stafford, shortly after Henry's accession.

Lovel's Rising, 1486. The King's uncle, Jasper Tudor, who had been created

Duke of Bedford, was sent against the rebels in York.

Very discreetly he promised a free pardon to all who would lay down their arms. The rebels, thereupon, melted away without firing a shot. Lovel fled by night, and Stafford, who had attacked Worcester, was executed. The same year the Queen gave birth to a son. Henry, who took pride in his Welsh descent and had floated

the red dragon of Wales on the field of Bosworth, now named his son, Arthur, in honour of the nation from which he had sprung.

A second conspiracy proved still more disastrous to the Yorkist cause. Lambert Simnel, a comely boy of twelve, the son of an

(2) Lambert Simnel's Im-posture, 1487. Oxford joiner, was brought forward as Edward, Earl of Warwick, who in fact was a prisoner in the Tower. Simnel and his tutor, a low-born Oxford priest, with a number of Yorkists, crossed over to

Ireland in 1487. They trusted that they would be able to plot more securely there. The Earl of Kildare, the head of the clan of the Geraldines, had private reasons for wishing the downfall of Henry, for this reason: Richard III had made Kildare lord-deputy of Ireland; and Henry, although he did not deprive him and his

The Earl of Kildare. family of their offices, appointed Jasper Tudor as lord-lieutenant. This detracted from the dignity of

Kildare's position. However, he was still the real ruler of Ireland, and had Simnel crowned in Dublin. Henry showed the emptiness of the imposture by parading the real Warwick through the streets of London. Nevertheless, the rebels gathered strength: they were joined by John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, the eldest son of the Duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV, and a body of German mercenaries under Martin Schwarz (or Swart) was sent over by Margaret of Burgundy. The rebels then crossed over to England. Henry advanced and scattered them at Stoke, near Newark. Simnel was taken prisoner. With generous contempt Henry put him to turn the spit in the royal kitchen. Kildare was allowed to go unpunished for the present.

Five years later a more dangerous conspiracy was set on foot. The new impostor was Perkin Warbeck, a handsome youth from

(3) Perkin Warbeck's Conspiracy, 1492 1499. the Netherlands, who pretended to be Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the two boys who had been done to death by Richard III. Warbeck landed in Ireland in 1492. As Kildare was not inclined to

countenance another precarious enterprise, Warbeck left for France. He was well received by Charles VIII, and many Yorkist refugees flocked to his side. Henry having made the Treaty of Etaples with the French king, Warbeck sought refuge in Flanders with Margaret of Burgundy. She, the real instigator of the fraud, received him as her nephew. Shortly afterwards, Henry made with Philip of Flanders, son of the Emperor Maximilian, an agreement, called the

Magnus Intercursus, or *Great Intercourse*, which debarred Warbeck from that country also.

Meanwhile Henry's spies had been watchful and diligent, for there were many in England who still abetted the Yorkist cause.

Execution of Sir William Stanley. Amongst those now accused of complicity was Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain. The Stanleys, who had been largely instrumental in putting Henry on the throne, had received lavish rewards. Sir William Stanley was the richest man in England. The Tudor dynasty, however, was still uncertain, and he probably desired to ensure his vast wealth against a turn of fortune. He did not deny his guilt, and was immediately executed. His death sent a thrill through the country. A small detachment from Warbeck's fleet, which landed at Deal, received no support and was cut to pieces.

Warbeck passed on to Ireland, and thence to Scotland, where James IV received him sumptuously and married him to his cousin, the Lady Catherine Gordon, who subsequently became the wife of Sir Mathew Cradock of Glamorgan. The Scots twice invaded the north of England on Warbeck's behalf, but retired without fighting. Unforeseen circumstances in England at last gave him cause for hope. On the plea of the expenses incurred in the Scotch war, Henry levied a heavy tax. The people of Cornwall, protesting that to tax Cornwall for a Scottish war was unjust, rose in revolt and marched to Blackheath. Their undisciplined valour could not prevail against trained troops and superior numbers; they were scattered and their leaders put to death. Lord Audley, the most prominent leader in the revolt, was captured by Sir Rhys ab Thomas who had distinguished himself also at Stoke. In fact, until his death in 1527 Rhys continued to be, not only the most eminent lord in Wales, but also one of the most distinguished soldiers in England.

Hoping to rekindle the embers of hostile feeling among the Cornishmen, Warbeck landed there and besieged Exeter. Failing to capture the city he advanced to Taunton, where he encountered the royal troops. He refused to give battle and took sanctuary at Beaulieu which was then invested by Sir Rhys. He was afterwards imprisoned in the Tower, and in 1499 Henry found a pretext for executing him and Warwick. Thus ended the inglorious and

Death of Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick, 1499.

bitter dynastic Wars of the Roses. The throne of the Tudors was now securely established.

One of the main objects of Henry's home policy was to secure a well-filled treasury. This he believed to be the greatest safeguard against conspiracy at home, and the best means of acquiring influence abroad. His chief minister was

Henry's Home Policy. (i) **Morton.** Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. This shrewd prelate used every subtle means for enriching his master. One artful device, although it may not have originated in Morton's brain, was termed *Morton's fork*. It was a plan by which "the sparing were to be pressed for money because they saved, and the lavish because they spent."

After him Empson and Dudley became the King's trusted ministers. Their rapacity and insolence made them so hated that they were known as the two ravening wolves. The nobility

(ii) **Empson and Dudley.** were impoverished; rich merchants had to pay heavily for their privileges; juries were fined and imprisoned at will; benevolences were raised, and nobody could feel secure in the enjoyment of his wealth. One Yorkshire squire, who had served Henry faithfully, was driven by these unscrupulous men into a debtor's prison. By such means the King, who had inherited an empty treasury, accumulated a vast store of wealth without resorting often to Parliament, for the Cornish revolt had shown that such a course was unsafe.

Henry's second object was the preservation of order. The country was full of thieves and robbers, and the recent civil wars had totally disorganised the machinery of justice. The

(iii.) **The Star-Chamber, 1487.** root of the evil lay in the inordinate power of the nobles, who intimidated or bribed juries and defied the royal justices. Their strength lay in *livery and maintenance*, the custom by which a lord, in return for services, saw that none of those who wore his badge or livery should be punished by law. It was to suppress this evil, and to put down riots and miscarriage of justice, that Henry, in 1487, created the Court of Star Chamber. It was aimed at the great nobility, and consisted of the King's chief ministers, such as the Chancellor and Treasurer, who would not be bribed or terrorised by the nobles. Although under the Stuarts it became notoriously unpopular, at first it was a necessary engine for the maintenance of order. It enforced obedience to the law, thus affording protection to the trading classes. In 1495

the *De Facto* Statute was passed. It stated that no one should be punished for having obeyed the King for the time being. It thus

De Facto Statute.

safeguarded those who obeyed Henry, in case the Yorkists came back to the throne. A Statute of Fines settled to whom disputed estates belonged.

In his foreign policy Henry needed to act with great tact and caution. At this time the French kings were striving to bring the great duchies under the crown, and Brittany alone

Henry's Foreign Policy.

retained its independence. France and England (1) **Treaty of Etaples, 1492.** were hereditary enemies; but Henry was shrewd enough to realise that he could not hope to recover

the old English possessions in France. He also saw that a war would be wasteful, and that his resources might be needed to cope with conspiracies at home. At the same time it was essential that he should enter on some foreign alliance with a view to fortifying his dynasty. With this object, by the Treaty of Medina in 1489, a marriage was arranged between his son Arthur and Catharine, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Meanwhile, in 1491, Charles VIII annihilated the army of Brittany, and then married Anne, the heiress of the duchy. Spain deeply resented this act of aggression, and urged England to go to war. Henry was not enthusiastic. Parliament, however, granted liberal supplies, and Henry crossed to Calais. But it was a sham invasion, and soon the Treaty of Etaples was signed between him and Charles. The latter agreed to defray Henry's expenses, to pay him a handsome indemnity, and what was most important, not to assist any of Henry's rebels.

One reason why Charles VIII had agreed so readily to the Treaty of Etaples was his desire to invade Naples. With dramatic sud-

The Magnus Intercursus, 1496.

denness, he actually reduced it in 1494. Ferdinand of Spain, the Emperor Maximilian I, and the Pope, fearing the aggrandisement of Charles, leagued together to drive him from his recent conquest; and Maximilian, anxious to draw England into the league, persuaded Henry to sign the *Magnus Intercursus*. This treaty was peculiarly favourable to England, for not only were the obstacles to trade between England and the Netherlands removed, but Maximilian, who was lord of the Netherlands, promised not to harbour Warbeck or any English rebels within his dominions, and Henry was not required to go to war with France. England thus acquired a very commanding position in the affairs of Europe.

Ten years later Philip, Maximilian's son, chanced to be compelled by a violent storm to take refuge in an English port. Henry

The Malus Intercursus, 1506. treated his illustrious guest sumptuously; for the first Tudor, in spite of his avarice, could be lavish in his hospitality when policy demanded it. Before

Philip left the shores of Britain he had signed another commercial treaty, more favourable to British traders than the former. Hence the Flemings called it the *Malus Intercursus*, or Evil Intercourse.

Henry thus made a Spanish alliance the pivot of his foreign policy. The continuous warfare of the past two centuries had

The Spanish Alliance.

sown seeds of mutual distrust between England and France. Moreover, Ferdinand was one of the ablest and wisest of European monarchs, and his

marriage with Isabella of Castile was the beginning of the greatness of Spain. Therefore, in 1501 the marriage between Arthur and Catharine was consummated. Unfortunately, Arthur died the following year. But to maintain the alliance and keep the handsome dowry which Catharine had brought with her, Henry proposed that she should marry his younger son, Henry, whom he created Prince of Wales. Such a marriage was contrary to the laws of the Church, but Pope Julius II willingly granted the necessary dispensation, and the marriage was carried out some years later.

Of greater significance in the internal affairs of Britain was the marriage of Henry's elder daughter Margaret to James IV of

Henry's Alliance with Scotland.

Scotland. In this way Henry hoped to detach Scotland from its traditional alliance with France, and to prevent the Scots giving help to English rebels.

It was the descendant of James and Margaret that subsequently united the crowns of England and Scotland.

Charles VIII had lost Naples as suddenly as he had won it. It then appeared that Italy would be dominated by the republic of

League of Cambrai, 1508.

Venice, which by its enterprising commercial spirit had become very wealthy and powerful. To prevent this Spain and France were persuaded to set aside their

rivalry and join the Pope and the Emperor Maximilian I in the League of Cambrai against the ambitious republic. The importance

European Political System.

of this league lies in the illustration it affords of the principle of action which was beginning to influence the monarchs of Europe in their foreign policy. It

has been called the *European Political System*, or the *Balance of*

Power, and implied that European sovereigns would combine to prevent any one of themselves becoming too strong and aggressive. By this league England became isolated; but Henry did not live long enough to see the outcome of the struggle that ensued.

In Ireland, outside the English Pale—a strip of land from Dublin to Dundalk—only a few towns such as Waterford upheld English influence. Of the Irish tribes the most influential were the Geraldines, whose head, Kildare, was lord deputy. As we have seen, he favoured the Yorkists and gave his support to Simnel. After the battle of Stoke he made his peace with Henry. Being still under suspicion during Warbeck's conspiracy, he was deprived of the lord-deputyship, and a rival family, the Butlers, placed in power. This proved no remedy for the perpetual internal feuds, and Henry, in 1494, appointed as lord-deputy Sir Edward Poynings.

After a futile expedition to reduce Ulster, Poynings set himself to fortify English law and influence within the Pale, and with that object summoned a parliament to Drogheda, which passed two important statutes afterwards known as Poynings' Laws. The first declared that in future no parliament should be held in Ireland without the sanction of the English sovereign, and no bills were to be discussed which had not already received the approval of the King in council. The second provided that all laws passed in England should be in force in Ireland. These decrees were very obnoxious to the Irish of later times, for Ireland now became in a stricter sense dependent on England. Henry, however, soon realized that Poynings' administration involved greater expenditure than he was prepared to sanction. The Earl of Kildare, whom Poynings had imprisoned, was thereupon released and sent back as deputy. "All Ireland cannot rule yonder gentleman," said the Bishop of Meath. "Then he is meet to rule all Ireland," replied the King.

Henry died on April 21, 1509, and was buried at Westminster. Wales was the land of his birth, for he was born in Pembroke Castle.

The dangers he had passed through in the unsettled days of his youth made him cold and suspicious, and left their impress on his careworn features. He was a man of strong intellect and iron will, sedulous in his attention to business. He chose as ministers men who would carry out his purpose with energy and devotion, and paid no regard to nobility

Henry and Ireland.

Poynings' Laws.

Character of Henry VII.

of birth. He used the nobles as courtiers rather than as councillors, but he avoided court favourites. He piloted England out of the stormy billows of internal strife; and he established the dynasty of the Tudors on a solid foundation, on which his successors erected one of the strongest of European monarchies.

CHIEF DATES.

Lovel's Conspiracy	1486
Lambert Simnel's Rising	1487
The Star Chamber instituted	1487
Perkin Warbeck's Conspiracy	1492
Treaty of Etaples	1492
Poynings in Ireland	1494
Magnus Intercursus	1496
Cornish Revolt	1497
Malus Intercursus	1506
League of Cambrai	1508
Death of Henry	1509

NOTES.

1. The Old Order and the New.

In the reign of Henry VII we pass from mediæval to modern times. This was the time of the great sculptor, Michael Angelo, and of Raphael, the great painter. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 had dispersed Greek scholars throughout Europe. Greek manuscripts were discovered, and the art of printing sent them broadcast. Henry VII showed sympathy with the new order of things. He gave his son the best education; and he endowed King's College, Cambridge. The chief features in the transition from mediæval to modern times are:—

- (i) The Consolidation of States. France, by the expulsion of the English at the end of the Hundred Years' War, and the absorption of such outlying provinces as Brittany, became one compact kingdom. Similarly in Spain, where the crowns of Castile and Aragon were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the Moors driven from Granada. In England, too, the Tudor Henry VII put an end to the rival factions of York and Lancaster. National wars now take the place of civil strife, and it is in this sense that the expedition of Charles VIII of France into Italy in 1494 ushers in a new epoch in the history of Europe. Hence arose the theory of the "balance of power."
- (ii) Geographical Discoveries. In 1492 Christopher Columbus, applying the *mariner's compass* to navigation, made his way to the West Indies. Five years later Vasco de Gama reached India round the Cape of Good Hope. Spain and Portugal were

the first to profit by these discoveries. Eventually Britain inherited many of them, and founded thereon her vast Empire.

John Cabot, having left Venice in 1490, came to England and settled in Bristol. He soon became prominent, and Henry VII gave him permission to go on a voyage of exploration. He returned some years later, but he had already discovered land on the other side of the Atlantic, his being the first English vessel to touch the American coast. Most of his companions were natives of Bristol. On his return he was received with great honour. In 1497 he again set sail with five ships, with the object apparently of discovering a north-west passage to Asia, and touched Greenland and Labrador. This was the beginning of British colonisation.

- (iii) Discovery of Gunpowder. This brought cannon into use; and great guns could now batter down the huge walls of mediaeval castles. Feudalism fell. Steel armour could no longer defy the attacks of an enemy, and the long-bow and cross-bow gave way to more modern methods of warfare.
- (iv) The Renaissance, or Revival of Learning.
- (v) The Reformation.

2. The Tudor Monarchy.

The despotism inaugurated by Edward IV was perpetuated by Henry VII and the Tudors. To some extent parliamentary forms were observed, and there was no standing army. Their chief support was the general fear of further civil wars, and a longing for peace and order. An arbitrary and despotic government was to be preferred to further insecurity; and so the rising class of merchants, gentlemen-farmers, and manufacturers—the growing *middle class*—supported the Tudors, and formed the strength of Parliament in the contest between King and Parliament in Stuart times. The Tudors were careful not to alienate the people and arouse their hostility. Rather than lose popularity they readily sacrificed unpopular ministers. Thus Henry VIII sacrificed Wolsey and Cromwell. Yet what they did was done with the nation's confidence.

3. Revolts of the reign:—

- (i) 1486. Lord Lovel and Humphrey Stafford.
- (ii) 1487. Lambert Simnel.
- (iii) 1492-1499. Perkin Warbeck. Note part played by Ireland in these risings.
- (iv) Cornish revolt, caused by heavy taxation, unlike i-iii, which were Yorkist plots.

4. Home Policy.

To maintain order and good government, and thus secure his throne and the Tudor dynasty. To do this he accumulated a vast treasure, his chief agents being (a) Morton, (b) Empson and Dudley. His instrument was the Star Chamber. It was also necessary to crush the nobility. This was accomplished through (a) the Star Chamber, and (b) in Wales by the Court of the Council of Wales and the Marches.

5. Foreign Policy.

Peace abroad, and so foster trade and prosperity. Note :—

- (a) Treaty of Etaples (1492).
- (b) *Magnus Intercursus* (1496), and *Malus Intercursus* (1506).
- (c) The two important marriage alliances with Spain and Scotland.



CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII. 1509-1547

Born 1491; married, 1509, Catherine of Aragon, divorced 1533, died 1536; 1533, Anne Boleyn, executed 1536; 1536, Jane Seymour, died 1537; 1540, Anne of Cleves, divorced 1540; 1540, Catharine Howard, executed 1542; 1543, Catharine Parr.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS :—

Scotland. James IV (1488-1513).

James V (1513-1542).

Mary (1542-1567).

France. Louis XII (1498-1515).

Francis I (1515-1547).

Spain. Ferdinand (1479-1516).

Charles I (1516-1556), Emperor in 1519.

The Empire. Maximilian (1493-1519).

Charles V (1519-1556).

Character of Henry VIII—General policy—Wolsey's foreign policy—Battle of the Spurs—Flodden—Balance of power—Pavia—Wolsey's decline—Renaissance—Oxford Reformers—Luther—The Reformation—Divorce Question—Fall of Wolsey—Reformation Parliament—Opposition—Thomas Cromwell—Dissolution of the Monasteries—Six Articles—Fall of Cromwell—Other Victims—Solway Moss—Ireland.

HENRY VIII was a lad of eighteen when he ascended the throne, His bluff and genial manner stood in striking contrast to the cool, suspicious nature of his father. He had shown considerable aptitude as a pupil, and had acquired many accomplishments. But the qualities which made his accession so popular were his tall athletic form, his skill in horsemanship, and his fondness for field sports. Always attired in gorgeous apparel and costly jewels, his handsome figure excited the envy of his enemies no less than the admiration of his subjects. Beneath his outward gaiety there lay a stubborn purpose and a will of iron. He was proud, overbearing, and remorseless in his hatred; and ministers whose services he no longer required were cast aside with pitiless indifference. Nevertheless, he guided England safely through a period of momentous changes, for he showed exceptional sagacity in choosing his ministers, and could persuade the people that his reforms were for their good.

If towards the end of his reign he became a ruthless tyrant, his government did not alienate the majority of his subjects.

Henry's first act was as merciless as it was popular. Empson and Dudley, his father's grasping ministers, had shown untiring zeal in amassing wealth for their royal master. But **Execution of Empson and Dudley, 1510.** their methods had been utterly unscrupulous; and when Henry encouraged complaints against them, the cry for vengeance became loud and general. Both were thrown into prison, and a false charge of treason having been preferred against them, Parliament passed an Act of Attainder, and both were executed on Tower Hill in 1510.

This step, base as it was, gave the nation unbounded joy, the nobles especially rejoicing at the downfall of the upstart extortioners. Henry, however, had no thought of pleasing the great nobles. On the contrary, he aspired to win popular favour, to reduce the nobility to impotence, and rule as an absolute monarch. In this he resembled his father. But unlike Henry VII, he was eager to take an active part in the arena of foreign politics. Thus, in the first year of the reign, a dispensation having been obtained from the Pope, Julius II, the marriage with Catharine was celebrated amid dazzling pomp and splendour. The union brought with it some very important consequences; for Catharine's father, Ferdinand of Aragon, was an astute sovereign who hoped to find in his son-in-law a serviceable ally in his European schemes.

The task of guiding Henry's foreign policy devolved upon a young minister, Thomas Wolsey, the son of a well-to-do grazier of Ipswich.

Thomas Wolsey. Having distinguished himself at Oxford, Wolsey passed into the service of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and subsequently became king's almoner. Once under the notice of Henry VIII his rise was rapid; for the King saw in him a capable, energetic and devoted servant, and in 1514 made him Archbishop of York. In quick succession Wolsey became lord chancellor, cardinal and papal legate; he even aimed at becoming pope. He was, therefore, the highest dignitary in ecclesiastical as well as in civil affairs, and for sixteen years was the second personage in England. He lived sumptuously and loved extravagant display; yet he never forgot that he was Henry's servant, and threw all his consummate ability and indefatigable energy into his master's ambitious schemes.

Wolsey was greatest as a foreign minister. In accordance with the League of Cambrai, 15'8, Louis XII of France had invaded

**Wolsey's
Foreign
Policy,
1512-1529.**

Italy and achieved brilliant success. The Pope, fearing that the French would make themselves masters of Italy, then formed the Holy League in 1511, an alliance between the Papacy, Venice and Spain to drive the French from Italian soil. For various reasons Henry was persuaded to join this new League. A traditional hostility existed between England and France; the glory which attended Louis XII's efforts aroused Henry's jealousy, for he himself thirsted for military renown; and, lastly, it was natural that he should wish to be on the side of his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Spain, who was also King of Naples.

In June, 1512, an army under the Marquis of Dorset landed in the north of Spain to co-operate with Ferdinand, not without hope of reducing Gascony. But the expedition was a miserable failure; for the troops were disaffected, while Ferdinand proved himself a treacherous ally.

**War with
France.**

The English, however, met with some success at sea; and in 1513 Henry, having landed at Calais, invaded France in person. His army was imposing, and never before had such a train of artillery crossed the channel. Wolsey, who had shown characteristic resource in fitting out these expeditions, accompanied him, the pomp and magnificence being unprecedented. The town of Théroutanne was besieged, and a body of French cavalry, in attempting to relieve it, was completely routed at Guinegate.

**Battle of the
Spurs, 1513.**

The French knights used their spurs more than their swords, and their retreat was so sudden that the engagement came to be called the "Battle of the Spurs." Théroutanne capitulated, and before he embarked for England Henry had taken Tournai and made Wolsey its bishop.

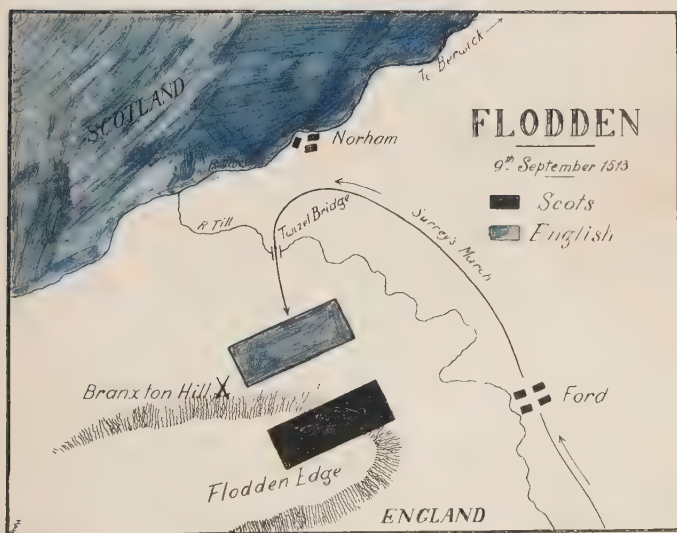
It was the invariable practice of the French, when attacked by England, to invite the Scots to invade the northern counties. Hence it was that, in spite of the marriage between James IV and Margaret, the Scots, taking advantage of Henry's absence in France, crossed the Tweed. The Earl of

**The Battle of
Flodden, 1513.**

Surrey, who was sent against the invaders, found them encamped in an almost impregnable position on Flodden ridge, on the left bank of the Till, a tributary of the Tweed. However, by an adroit and daring move he placed himself on their line of retreat. Then

James, whose generalship was gravely at fault, moved his troops down the hillside. Surrey, who could not fail to profit by such blundering tactics, immediately attacked. A fierce hand to hand conflict ensued, and a successful flank movement by the English decided the issue in their favour. James himself fell, riddled with arrows, and with him perished the flower of the Scottish nobility. For his brilliant victory, Surrey was made Duke of Norfolk.

The death of James IV having left his widow, Queen Margaret,



for the moment regent of Scotland, a better understanding between Peace with the two countries, and consequently between England France, 1514. and France, became possible. Moreover, Henry was already convinced that his father-in-law, Ferdinand, was a selfish and wily intriguer, whose friendship was uncertain. Wolsey, therefore, took a bold course. Fearlessly abandoning the Spanish alliance, he made peace with France, and Henry's sister Mary, a bright girl of seventeen, was given in marriage to the old and infirm Louis XII. The following year Louis died, killed, so the French said, "by the late hours and high living which the gay young English

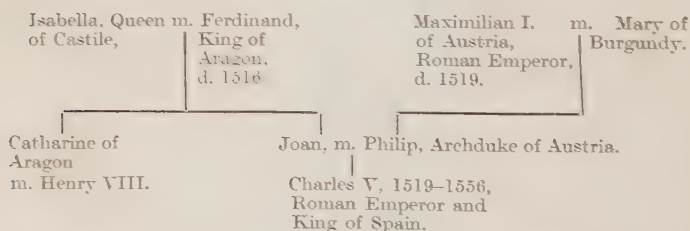
queen persuaded him to adopt." Mary then speedily married Charles Brandon, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. From this marriage Lady Jane Grey was descended.

On the death of Louis XII. the throne of France passed to his cousin, Francis I. Young, eager, and ambitious of military glory.

Francis crossed the Alps at the head of a magnificent army : and having scattered his enemies at Marignano, 1515, recovered French supremacy in northern Italy and brought Milan under French rule. This brilliant

achievement was very disconcerting to Henry's violent desire for martial triumphs : but Francis had a more formidable rival in Charles V, the grandson and heir of Ferdinand of Aragon and the Emperor Maximilian. In 1516 Ferdinand died, and Charles inherited Spain, Naples and Sicily, as well as the Spanish possessions in the new world. Three years later, on the death of Maximilian, he became the ruler of Austria, Burgundy and the Netherlands. These events ushered in the second phase of England's foreign policy.

THE GENEALOGY OF CHARLES V.



Charles V, Francis I and Henry VIII were now the three proudest monarchs in Europe. All were young, active and ambitious.

Between the two former there existed a keen rivalry which was bound eventually to lead to the arbitrament of war, for each sought to dominate the affairs of the continent. The initial victory fell to Charles : for in the contest for the position of Roman Emperor, the choice of whom was vested in a body of "Seven Electors," Charles was elected in preference to Francis. The increasing influence and

Attitude of
Wolsey.

enormous resources of Charles were indeed menacing, and the attitude of England became a question of considerable moment. Wolsey, who, by statesmanlike diplomacy, had kept England from war since 1514, was not slow to realise that his true course was a neutral attitude which would place Henry in a position to mediate between Charles and Francis.

In other words, it was Wolsey's policy to hold the "balance of power" between the two rivals, preventing either from becoming too powerful. Already, in 1518, he had brought about peace between Francis and his rivals by the Treaty of London, by which French influence in Scotland

The Balance of Power.

was restrained. This policy succeeded admirably as long as Charles and Francis believed that Henry might at any time throw in his lot with the one or the other, for England thus became a determining factor in the European situation. It fully answered Wolsey's personal ambitions, for he cherished the hope of one day becoming pope, and received repeated promises of support from both rival monarchs. Henry, too, was courted. In the summer of 1520, amid a blaze of splendour, Henry and Francis met at "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," a little south of Calais. Empty protestations of friendship were mutual. Less than a month later,

Field of the Cloth of Gold.

at Gravelines, not far from the same spot, Henry entertained Charles, though on a less elaborate scale, and signed with him a treaty similar to the one he had just agreed upon with Francis.

This policy inevitably led to considerable shuffling and hollow intrigues; and its results were mischievous, in that Henry came

Why Wolsey assisted Charles V.

to be looked upon as a perfidious ally. Moreover, when open war did at last break out between Charles and Francis in 1521, Wolsey, in direct opposition to his avowed principle of keeping the balance between them, threw in his lot with Charles, the stronger of the two rivals. This he did for various reasons. (1) The Emperor was the nephew of Queen Catharine. (2) War with France was traditional and popular. (3) An alliance with Burgundy and the Netherlands, over which Charles V ruled, encouraged trade. (4) Wolsey, in his overweening ambition to become pope, still trusted in the assurances of Charles, although that wily monarch had already deluded him on the death of Pope Leo X.

In 1522, therefore, war with France was renewed. The fighting

on Henry's part, however, was very desultory and half-hearted, and failed to inflict any serious harm on the French King. On the other hand, the progress of Henry's ally, Charles, was irresistible; for at Pavia, in 1525, he had crushed his enemies, taken Francis I prisoner, and driven his troops from Italy. Two years later, when concerted action was taken by the enemies of Charles to oust him from his conquests, he replied by a brutal sack of Rome, which scared his enemies and revealed his overwhelming might.

Indeed, Charles V's predominance was now so far a menace to the peace of Europe that Wolsey was once more allowed to negotiate with France, and revert to the principle of the balance of power. There were other considerations, too, which led to this change of front. Henry looked upon the military renown of the Emperor with feelings of jealousy, and resented his duplicity; whereas Wolsey's designs on the papacy, balked a second time by his faithless ally, were vanishing. Thus peace was made with France in 1527. Henry did not give Francis that active assistance which the principle of the "balance of power" demanded. Nevertheless, the peace secured the northern counties from Scottish raids, and proved of great service to Henry in the quarrel with Charles and the Pope over the divorce question, which was already looming. If Wolsey had not been consistent in his foreign policy he had at least shown the value of the principle of the balance of power, and had given England a prominent place in the councils of Europe.

The Cardinal's ambitious schemes, however, contained the germs of his ruin. The nobility hated him as an arrogant upstart who usurped the privileges which of old had been exercised by their ancestors. Moreover, they had reason to fear him; for in 1521, on very inadequate grounds, the Duke of Buckingham had been accused of treason and put to death. Buckingham was the leader of the aristocracy, and might possibly have claimed the throne if Henry died without male heirs. He was haughty, and in an unguarded moment let fall some indiscreet words for which the King decreed he should die. The lords were too subservient to protest, but the odium fell upon Wolsey.

If the nobles were sullen, the Commons were restive. The enormous wealth which Henry had inherited from his father had

been squandered recklessly in vain ostentation, and in wars with

(2) The Commons. France, which were as wasteful as they were inglorious. At first the Commons granted supplies liberally.

Then they began to protest against increasing taxation, insomuch that in 1523 Wolsey, who had gone down to the House to overawe the members, was compelled to withdraw, receiving only a fraction of his demands. After this rebuff Wolsey,

The Amicable Loan, 1525. being disinclined to summon Parliament again, had recourse to such illegal devices as forced loans and benevolences. The most unpopular of these was

the "Amicable Loan" of 1525, by which every one was called upon to contribute one-sixth of his income. There was a violent outburst of resentment, and riots were general in the east. Henry was forced to abandon the loan, and to accept whatever gifts his subjects were willing to offer. Its failure was attributed to the Cardinal, who, in due season, was to reap his harvest. For when he failed to bring about the divorce between Henry and Catharine, the remorseless King abandoned him, a sacrifice to popular indignation and a scapegoat for his own failures.

The dark superstition of the Middle Ages was now giving way to a brighter era of enlightenment and learning. The discoveries

The Renascence. of merchant adventurers revealed to Europe a new world and wide possibilities. After the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, Greek scholars

fled westwards with their literary treasures. Old manuscripts were discovered, which the art of printing gave to the world. Books became cheaper; reading became more general; people began to inquire, to think for themselves, and to criticise. It was the period of the Renascence, or the Revival of Learning.

This new spirit uprooted many of the doctrines and beliefs of the Middle Ages; but nowhere was its influence more deeply felt than in the Church, for when men began to

The Renascence and the Church. read the Scriptures for themselves in the original Hebrew and Greek, many of the teachings of the clergy were found to be false. This undermined

the authority of the Church, for educated men would no longer accept without question whatever was taught by the priest, especially as the clergy, becoming increasingly unpopular, had already lost much of their influence for good.

The chief cause of the unpopularity of the church and the papacy

lay in the degeneracy of the clergy. Many of them lived notoriously wicked lives; even amongst the most pious and orthodox there was very little earnestness. The popes of the time had sunk deep in crime, and were guilty of the most scandalous vices. Some of them were atheists who scoffed at Christianity, regarding it as nothing better than a profitable superstition. Yet these were the men who arrogated to themselves the right to pardon sins, and condone the most vicious crimes for a money payment. In England the clergy were not perhaps as degraded as they were on the continent; but even here they were a rich, haughty, privileged class, hostile to the new spirit that called for reform, and totally indifferent to the corruption so rife among them.

More than a century had elapsed since Wiclif had tried to bring about reform. His followers, the Lollards, had been ruthlessly suppressed. Yet there remained considerable dissatisfaction with the abuses of the church. The desire for reform now found advocates in the "Oxford Reformers," the representatives of the New Learning in England. The most sturdy and vigorous of these was John Colet. At Oxford he did much for the study of Greek. He afterwards became Dean of St. Paul's, and was the founder of St. Paul's School. He showed how absurd were many of the doctrines of the old teachers, and vehemently exposed the greediness of the clergy, the baneful custom of holding several livings at once without visiting any, and the selling of preferments. Another, and in many respects the greatest of this band of reformers, was Sir Thomas More, a devout and austere scholar who was deeply influenced by the noble example of Colet. He wrote a book called "Utopia" (which means "Nowhere"), in which, by describing an ideal state of that name, he exposes the evils under which England suffered. Others of the group were Grocyn, Linacre, and Erasmus of Rotterdam, a scholar who lived many years in England, and brought out an edition of the Greek Testament.

What these men desired was to cleanse the church from within—to abolish some of its superstitions and prejudices, to improve the lives of the clergy, and to educate them in the light of the New Learning. There was no desire to alter its doctrines or ceremonials. But the evils they attacked were as widespread as they were deep-rooted. Gentle, unobtrusive

means of reform were of little avail against a church whose vast wealth and enormous privileges were utilised solely in the interests of a corrupt papal system. The moment called for more heroic efforts, and the man was found in Martin Luther, a courageous friar of Wittenberg, in Saxony.

Emissaries of the Pope one day appeared in this little German town selling indulgences, or remissions of the penances incurred by the commission of sin. Luther revolted against this evil practice, and with impassioned vigour denounced papal enormities. He was persecuted and eventually outlawed; but most of the north German princes, who had long since resented the Pope's interference in their dominions, took sides with the reformer against the papal system. In 1529, after a severe struggle, the reformers asserted their right to freedom of conscience in their own dominions, and separated from the Roman Catholic Church. This was the beginning of the Reformation, which ultimately divided Western Europe into Catholics and Protestants. In France the Protestants were called Huguenots; in Scotland they became Presbyterians.

There were in England a few who caught the spirit of Luther and advocated separation from Rome. At Cambridge the desire for reform found expression in Latimer and Coverdale. **Henry and the Reformation.** William Tyndale's English version of the New Testament, which appeared in 1525, influenced in the same direction. But Henry had no intention of breaking with the papacy. He had some knowledge of theology, and, alarmed at the fearlessness of Luther, wrote a book called the "Defence of the Seven Sacraments," upholding the papacy against the German reformer. For this Pope Leo. X conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith." Wolsey, more a statesman than a priest, conceived some projects of ecclesiastical reform. He would have the clergy work harder and lead purer lives. He dissolved those monasteries which had seven inmates or less, and applied the revenues to the founding of Christ Church College, Oxford. But he himself lived like a prince, and enjoyed the incomes of three sees which he never visited; and he silenced all advocates of the new doctrines in England.

However, forces were at work which made it inevitable that England should become Protestant. (1) The first and most important of these was the national resentment felt against the inter-

ference of the pope or any other foreign power in the internal affairs of the country. (2) The corruption in the Church was widespread, and made the clergy unpopular. (3) The Renaissance was already affecting the attitude of men towards the old order of things; and this led to an ardent desire for reform in doctrine and practice. Yet Henry VIII himself would not have broken with the papacy were it not for (4) his fierce purpose in the question of the divorce.

Queen Catharine, a faithful and virtuous wife, was sickly and prematurely old. Unhappily, too, she had only one surviving daughter, Mary, whereas Henry was deeply anxious for a son who would succeed him, and make his dynasty secure, for no woman had hitherto ruled in England.

The Divorce Question.

Moreover, he had already fallen madly in love with Anne Boleyn, a beautiful and lively Maid of Honour. Therefore, in 1527 he appealed to Pope Clement VII for a declaration that no legal marriage had ever taken place between him and Catharine, on the ground that she had already been betrothed to his brother Arthur. Only the Pope, or a court appointed by him, could give such a declaration. The moment was unfavourable, for Charles V, Catharine's nephew, was at the time all-powerful in Italy, and Clement virtually his prisoner.

Wolsey, although he would have preferred Henry to marry a French princess, so as to ensure an alliance with France, undertook to procure the divorce. Clement, anxious to gain time, appointed a Commission consisting of Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio, an Italian who had become Bishop of Salisbury, to investigate the question. Wolsey desired a prompt settlement of the difficulty; Campeggio delayed, and did not reach England till the summer of 1529. Then, suddenly, the Commission was suspended and the case summoned to Rome. Wolsey had failed, and he soon became aware that nothing less than his complete ruin would appease the King's fury.

The fall of the great minister followed with dramatic suddenness. He was hated on all sides. Fearing to call Parliament together, he had made illegal exactions. Henry now declared that those demands had been made without his authority, and dismissed him from the Chancellorship.

Then, with callous hypocrisy, he had him impeached on a charge of having broken the Statute of Praemunire by accepting the position

Fall of Wolsey, 1529.

of papal legate, although Wolsey had done so with the royal sanction. Deprived of his enormous personal property, he was sent to his see at York, friendless. Nevertheless, his enemies were at work. Chief among these was the Duke of Norfolk, uncle of Anne Boleyn. In the following year Wolsey was summoned to London on a preposterous charge of treason. He died on the way, at Leicester Abbey, in 1530.

On the death of Wolsey the King gave his confidence to Sir Thomas More, whom he made Chancellor. A strenuous advocate of reform within the Church, he was as strenuously opposed to the revolutionary methods of Luther. He believed in the papacy, and did not wish to destroy the majesty of the Roman Catholic Church. The rush of events occasioned by the divorce question, as we shall see, compelled him, a few years later, to resign, and ultimately to be sent to the block.

Sir Thomas More.

Thomas Cranmer.

In ecclesiastical matters Henry was guided by Thomas Cranmer, the royal chaplain, who became Archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Warham in 1533.

A great scholar and noted for his piety, he was nevertheless weak and irresolute, and became a willing tool of the King's masterful purpose. He suggested that the question of the validity of Henry's marriage should be submitted for judgment to the universities of Europe, on the ground that a marriage with a deceased brother's wife being contrary to Scripture, the Pope had no right to grant the dispensation in the first instance.

Some of the universities gave a favourable answer, but they were not unanimous. However, Henry was determined to obtain

The "Reformation Parliament," 1529-1536.

a divorce, and in order to show Europe that the people were with him, he summoned a Parliament in 1529. It lasted till 1536. In severing the connection between England and the Church of Rome, it passed some of the most important Acts in English history.

Henry did not find it difficult to persuade his Parliament, for the members were imbued with considerable hatred against the papacy, while the death of Wolsey warned them that opposition was dangerous. Now that the divorce question had been called to Rome, nothing but an unscrupulous policy of intimidation could succeed with the Pope, much as Henry would have liked a reconciliation.

Henry's first step was to declare that the clergy were all liable to the penalties of the Statute of Praemunire, because they had

acknowledged Wolsey as papal legate. The crushing effect of this declaration showed the helplessness of the clergy, for Henry becomes they immediately bought pardon by paying a huge "Supreme fine. In the following year he compelled Convocation, the assembly of the clergy, to acknowledge Head of the Church," 1531 him as "Supreme Head of the Church" in England, and 1534. although they were allowed to insert the words, "so far as the law of Christ permits." This title was somewhat uncertain in its scope, and the breach with Rome did not seem final nor the rupture irreparable till 1534, when Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy. This Act finally established the King as "Supreme Head on Earth under God of the Church of England," completed the separation from Rome, and made England a Protestant country. It was a political no less than a religious revolution.

The Act of Supremacy was the coping-stone to several other Acts of Parliament, the object of which was to sever the many ties which bound England to the Papacy. The chief steps were as follows. In 1532 Henry compelled the clergy to agree not to issue any ordinances without his assent, which meant that their legislative powers were henceforth to be vested in the king. In this way he hoped to frighten the papacy to grant the divorce. But the Pope was still in the Emperor's grip, and unable, if not unwilling, to take action. Then payment of annates, or firstfruits of bishoprics, was forbidden. In 1534, by a Second Act of Annates, these payments were transferred to the Crown. In 1533 Parliament abolished appeals to Rome, and made the Archbishop's Court the highest English ecclesiastical court. In the following year Peter's Pence, the contributions of the laity to the papacy, were done away with, and with this ended all payments from England to Rome. These, together with the Act of Supremacy (1534), constitute the chief acts of the Reformation Parliament.

In the winter of 1532 Henry had secretly married Anne Boleyn. In the following year Cranmer held a court and pronounced Henry's marriage with Catharine invalid, and his union with Anne Boleyn lawful. It was useless now for Catharine to protest that the court had no jurisdiction in the matter. This put an end to the suit. In 1533 Anne gave birth

The Divorce Question.

to a daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, and it became necessary to secure the succession to Anne's children. This was done by the Act of Succession, to which all subjects were required to swear.

**Act of
Succession,
1534.**

It must not be thought that the people had accepted these revolutionary changes with indifference. The Nun of Kent, Elizabeth Barton, voicing the prevailing discontent in wild prophecies, predicted that the wrath of Heaven would descend upon Henry. She was but the handmaid of

**Opposition
(i) Nun of
Kent.**

intriguing ecclesiastics, and the King struck terror into his enemies by putting her to death. More illustrious victims followed. Sir Thomas More, one of the noblest of men, had already been imprisoned for refusing to comply with the Act of Succession; and when Henry required him to submit to the Act of Supremacy, More firmly refused, believing that the authority of the Pope was of divine origin. Therefore, in the summer of 1535 he was sent to the block, and with him perished John Fisher, the saintly Bishop of Rochester. Five years later perished Edward Powell, a native of Wales, and one of the ablest divines at Oxford. Although he had written fearlessly in defence of Catharine in the divorce question, he won the king's favour by denouncing Luther. But when he upheld the supremacy of the Pope and refused to take the oath of succession he was executed at Smithfield in 1540. To silence opposition at home an Act of Treason was passed, making it dangerous even to hold a different opinion from that of the King. It was a reign of terror.

Nothing shows more clearly the savage and suspicious temper of the King at this period than the death of young Rhys ap Gruffydd,

**Execution of
Rhys ap
Gruffydd,
1531.**

the grandson of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who had been the strongest pillar of the first Tudor sovereign. Rhys ap Gruffydd had married a sister of the Duke of Norfolk, and cultivated Wolsey's friendship. He was the most powerful personage in Wales, and a quarrel having arisen between him and Lord Ferrers, both were summoned to the Star Chamber before the Cardinal, and dismissed with a warning. In 1531, on a flimsy pretext, Rhys was thrown into the Tower and executed. His only crime was his powerful influence among his countrymen, and his partiality towards Queen Catharine and the Papacy.

Henry's most active agent in his anti-papal policy was Thomas Cromwell, a clever, unscrupulous adventurer, who owed his advancement to Wolsey. Before entering Parliament he had passed a roving life until he finally became attached to the law. The fact that he had defended Wolsey in Parliament did not prevent him ingratiating himself with Henry, who found him a crafty and resourceful tool. Cromwell's object was to make the royal supremacy real, and the power of the Crown absolutely unfettered by constitutional trammels. To accomplish this, it was necessary to provide it with a well-filled treasury, and make the Church helpless and subservient. Both these objects could be attained by the dissolution of the monasteries, and in 1535 Cromwell was appointed Vicar-General, with full power in ecclesiastical matters.

Armed with this authority, Cromwell proceeded with his work of ruthless confiscation. The monasteries were establishments for the practice of religion. In the Middle Ages they had done noble work, but fervour and self-sacrifice in the cause of religion had become rare. Not only were the majority of the monks greedy, selfish and morally helpless, but not a few were grossly corrupt and immoral. Moreover, they were for the most part favourable to Rome. As seats of learning the universities were taking their place. But the consideration that appealed most forcibly to Cromwell and the King was their vast wealth. The monks were the owners of extensive tracts of land. As landlords they were generous to their tenants, more tolerant than the grasping nobles who succeeded them, and more merciful to the poor. Nevertheless, Cromwell saw in them a means of satisfying Henry's rapacious greed, and sent out a Commission to inquire into their condition. The Commissioners, knowing that they were expected to report unfavourably, presented their accounts in very lurid colours. Thereupon, in 1536, Cromwell passed a bill through Parliament abolishing all monasteries with a revenue of less than £200 a year.

The Act did not pass without opposition. Apart from religious changes and the suppression of the monasteries, there were other grievances. Many labourers were thrown out of employment, because landlords were turning their lands from arable to pasture so as to benefit from the rise in the price of wool. Complaints were frequent against the enclosure of the common lands, and the great

nobles of the north hated Cromwell as a low-born adventurer. There were risings in Lincolnshire; but in the north, where the monks were not unpopular, a more desperate revolt took place under the leadership of a lawyer, Robert Aske. It was called the Pilgrimage of Grace. The insurgents demanded the removal of the Pilgrimage of Grace, upstarts like Cromwell, and the restoration of their age of Grace, 1536-1537. monasteries. The main body were persuaded to disperse by specious promises; but the boldest insurgents incited further riots, until they were suppressed by the royal troops. As a result of the rebellion the Council of the North, a committee of the Privy Council, was established, which soon made the north as peaceable as any other part of the country.

A few years later, in 1539, all the larger monasteries were suppressed and their lands handed over to the King. Much of it was sold at ridiculously low prices. A small part was spent on coast defences, and improvement of the navy, the Larger Monasteries. Henry VIII being the first sovereign to make a serious attempt at having a Royal Navy. Some was applied to religious and educational purposes, but the greater part found its way into the pockets of the King and his courtiers. The results of these measures were far-reaching. The new landlords formed a new nobility subservient to the royal will. Rents were higher; the tenants were less cared for; the poor lost their doles, so that in the reign of Elizabeth it became necessary to legislate for them by a system of relief. Lastly, the disappearance of the abbots from the House of Lords gave that body a lay majority which supported further reforms in the Church, and allowed the nobles to enclose the common lands.

After the suppression of the monasteries the work of ecclesiastical reform proceeded steadily. There were at court two parties struggling for supremacy. One party wished to carry reforms further in the direction of the German Protestants. At their head was Thomas Cromwell.

He cared little for religion, and wished only to undermine clerical influence. With him were Cranmer and Latimer. The other party, of which the Duke of Norfolk and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, were the leaders, opposed all doctrinal reforms. Henry himself, now that he had finally broken with Rome, sympathised with them. He wished to retain the old faith without Papal supremacy, and in this he represented the views of the majority of his subjects.

In giving bishoprics to such men as Hugh Latimer, in allowing Bibles to be printed in English and compelling every parish church to have an English translation of the Bible, Henry encouraged the Reformation movement. Yet none but the rich were allowed to read the Bible ; and that he had no intention of joining hands with Luther and the German Protestants became evident by his persecution of the Protestants, and by the "Statute of Six Articles," which imposed a test for the punishment of those whose opinions did not coincide with his own. These Articles were : (1) Belief in Transubstantiation, that is, that at the Communion the substance of the bread and wine becomes the substance of the body and blood of Christ ; (2) the clergy were not to marry ; (3) the necessity of auricular or private confession, and (4) of private masses ; (5) that the cup at Communion could be refused to the laity ; (6) that vows of chastity should be observed. The Protestants in disgust called it the "whip with six strings," for cruel penalties, even that of death, were inflicted for disobedience.

Towards the end of his reign, the King's rule became very despotic and tyrannous. None were bold enough to resist. The clergy were humbled to the dust, and having lost so much of Henry's Absolutism : their wealth, were the less able to recover their influence. The nobility, too, were reduced to impotence. Most of them had been raised by the King himself, and were his puppets. The Commons, too, did little else than carry out his will ; for in 1539 they enacted that royal proclamations should henceforth have the force of law, and that Henry should have the right of appointing his successor. The King's triumph was complete.

None had done more to build up this absolutism than Thomas Cromwell. Like Wolsey, he was hated by the old nobility, at the head of whom was the Duke of Norfolk, who constantly schemed to bring about his overthrow. Cromwell's fall came with his proposal to contract a marriage alliance between Henry and Anne of Cleves. In May, 1536, Anne Boleyn, accused of adultery, had been sent to the scaffold. On the following day Henry had married Jane Seymour, who gave birth to a son, afterwards Edward VI. Some years after her death came Cromwell's proposal. Anne's brother, the Duke of Cleves, was a powerful prince on the Lower Rhine. He was a Protestant, and Cromwell hoped to find in him an ally in case Charles V and Francis united against England. But the Emperor and Francis quarrelled

The Six Articles, 1539.

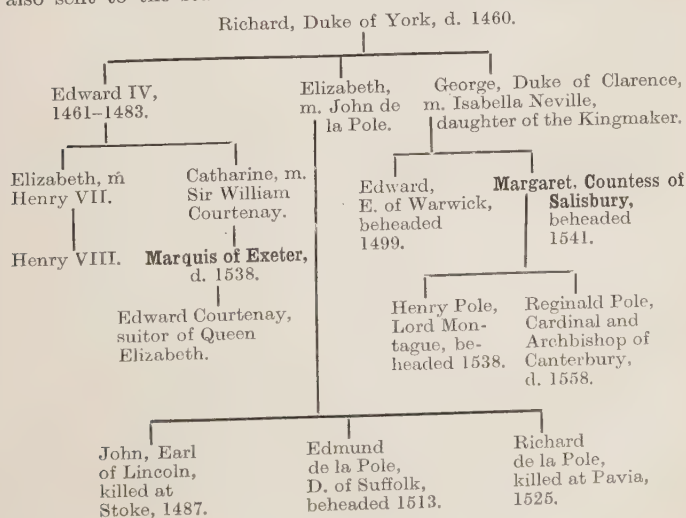
Henry's Absolutism : as shown by—

(i) Fall of Cromwell, 1540.

and an alliance with the German Protestant princes became unnecessary. Worst of all Anne, by no means attractive in person, was lacking in intelligence. This sealed Cromwell's fate. His plan failed, and an Act of Attainder having been passed, he was put to death on Tower Hill in 1540. Henry immediately divorced Anne,

(ii) **Henry's Wives.** and then married Catharine Howard. Like her cousin Anne Boleyn, she was condemned on a charge of adultery and executed. Henry then married Catharine Parr, who by her tact and prudence held his affections and survived him.

Henry was still suspicious of the old nobility. Reginald Pole the grandson of George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV, was in exile, and had been made Cardinal. He seems to have become the centre of an intrigue on the part of the Pope to get the Emperor and Francis to invade England. The attempt was a complete failure. The Marquis of Exeter, who had considerable influence in the west, and Henry Pole, Lord Montague, were executed on very insufficient grounds. Three years later the Countess of Salisbury, for no other reason than that she was the mother of Reginald Pole, was also sent to the scaffold.



Since the battle of Flodden, England had had little to fear from the northern kingdom. As James V grew to manhood he was imbued with a distrust of Henry. He therefore

Battle of Solway Moss, 1542. reverted to the traditional policy of the Scots, allied with France, and took as his wife Mary of Guise.

Two circumstances now led to an outbreak of hostilities: the border feuds had become menacing, and Henry was on the point of war with France. In 1542 James invaded the north of England, but he was out-generalled, and suffered a severe defeat at Solway Moss. Soon afterwards James V died, leaving his throne to his infant daughter Mary, known as Mary Queen of Scots. Henry wished her to marry his son Edward, and so end the inveterate hostility between the two peoples. A marriage treaty was drawn up with that object. But the times were unfavourable. Francis of France opposed it because it would deprive him of a very useful ally, and intrigued against it at the Scottish court. Henry, therefore, allied with Charles and attacked France in 1543. The English, indeed, captured Boulogne, but the chief result was the exhaustion of Henry's treasury.

War with France.

To strengthen his exchequer, he had recourse to very unconstitutional means. He compelled the Commons to cancel his debts—a disgraceful piece of robbery, for his creditors thereby lost all that they had lent. Further, he debased the coinage, so that the shilling contained more alloy than silver. The purchasing power of the shilling fell, and creditors who were repaid in the new coins suffered disastrously. On the same specious pretext Henry in 1545 dissolved and confiscated the wealth of the Chantries, i.e. foundations where priests prayed for the souls of the dead. These acts show how arbitrary and tyrannous the King's rule had become.

His vindictiveness became evident in other directions. The two parties, those of the new and old faith, were still struggling for mastery. The leader of the latter, the Duke of Norfolk, hoped, as the King's health was breaking up, to stem the course of the Reformation movement.

(v) Execution of the Earl of Surrey.

The ungrateful, suspicious monarch disliked such pretensions, and inclined towards Cranmer and the men of the new faith. The Litany was ordered to be used in English instead of Latin; and in 1545 the Breviary was replaced by a new service-book. Then Norfolk's son, the Earl of Surrey, a famous poet and an accomplished

scholar, having provoked the old King's anger by rash indiscretions, was peremptorily sent to the scaffold. Norfolk himself only escaped a similar fate by Henry's death in 1547.

Henry was in many respects a remarkable king. He guided the country through revolutionary changes without provoking civil war, and he solved the problem of religion in accordance with the views of the majority of his subjects.

Death of Henry.

His rule was a personal one, but he possessed rare sagacity in choosing his ministers. Obstinate, heartless and revengeful, his later years were a reign of terror, yet he never forfeited the support of Parliament nor the trust of his people. And if he and his agents were unscrupulous in their methods, none could dispute the moral grandeur of the Reformation movement which he piloted so successfully.

As regards Ireland, Henry VII had discovered that that country could be ruled successfully only through the great Norman-Irish families, the chief of whom were the FitzGerald and Geraldine families.

Ireland.

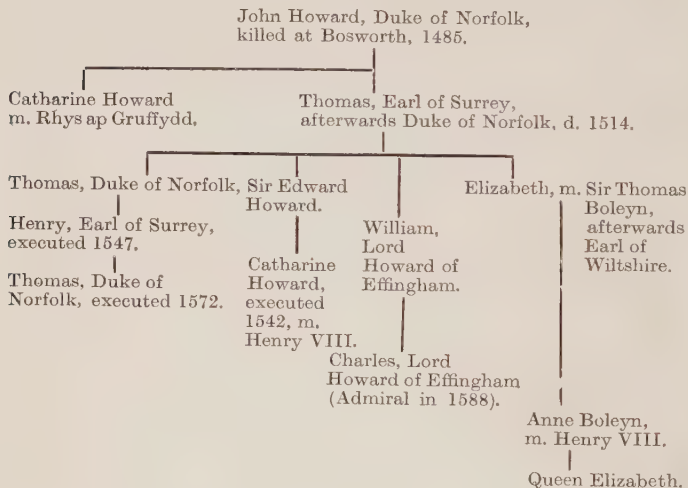
Henry VIII followed the same policy, and governed the country through the Earls of Kildare, the heads of the FitzGerald family. In the north and west the heads of the clans were still powerful. In 1535 the Earl of Kildare revolted. The rebellion was suppressed and several executions followed. Henry then pursued a policy of bribery. The monasteries were suppressed and their lands transferred to the Irish nobility. The Irish Parliament had already in 1537 adopted the Act of Supremacy. In 1542 they then gave Henry the title of King of Ireland. Up to his time, since the reign of Henry II, the Kings of England had been styled Lords of Ireland only. However, it was not until Elizabeth that the country was really subdued.

CHIEF DATES.

Holy League	1511
Battles of Flodden and Guinegate	1513
Reformation begins in Germany	1517
Battle of Pavia	1525
Fall of Wolsey	1529
Reformation Parliament meets	1529
Act of Supremacy	1534
Act of Union of Wales with England	1535
Dissolution of Smaller Monasteries	1536
Dissolution of Larger Monasteries	1539
Act of Six Articles	1539
Fall of Cromwell	1540
Battle of Solway Moss	1542

NOTES.

1. The Howards.



2. Wolsey.

(a) Foreign Policy.

- (1) Joins the Holy League (1511) *against France*. Why? See text. Hence, expeditions to the north of Spain and north of France. Battle of Spurs, 1513. Pursuing their traditional policy, Scots invade England. Flodden, 1513. 1514, *Peace with France*. Louis XII marries Mary, Henry's sister.

Reasons: (i) Henry distrusts Ferdinand of Spain.

(ii) Death of James IV of Scotland makes possible a better understanding with Scotland, and hence with France.

- (2) Second phase. Balance of Power.

The deaths of Louis XII (1515), of Ferdinand (1516), and of the Emperor Maximilian (1519) makes Francis I of France and Emperor Charles V keen rivals, with conflicting policies in Italy. Wolsey's policy was to mediate between them and hold the balance of power. Hence, 1520, Henry meets Francis at Field of Cloth of Gold, and Charles at Gravelines.

Soon this principle is abandoned and *England joins Spain*, because (i) Wolsey was disappointed in his hopes of the Papacy; (ii) Charles V was Henry's nephew; (iii) commercial reasons; (iv) war with France was more popular.

Battle of Pavia, 1525. Charles's brilliant successes and his continued duplicity regarding the Papacy, incline Henry once more to France. *Peace with France*, 1527, but without active assistance against Charles, as his principle demanded.

- (3) Results. Wolsey had shown the value of the principle of the balance of power, and had given England a more prominent position in the councils of Europe. (N.B.—War with France at end of reign, in alliance with Charles V.)

(b) Home Policy.

- (1) Relative to the Monarchy.

To serve Henry and carry out his policy of making the monarchy absolute. Hence (i) Suppression of nobility; (ii) illegal taxation. Arbitrary imprisonment and benevolences resorted to. 1523, Wolsey's demand for a subsidy resented by the Commons (Sir Thomas More as Speaker). 1523-1529, Parliament not called. King governs by royal proclamations, and Wolsey was his tool. (N.B.—Amicable Loan, 1525, and Wolsey's consequent unpopularity.)

As illustrative of Henry's attitude towards Parliament, note that in 1539 the King's proclamations were given the force of law.

- (2) Renaissance and Reformation.

He aspired to become Pope, and so guide the Reformation which he saw impending, by reforming the Church from within. Hence (i) he made some effort to reform the lives of the clergy; (ii) he destroyed some of the smaller monasteries, and founded schools of learning. But he was not prepared to abandon his bishoprics and give a noble example to others.

- (c) Why Wolsey fell, 1529-1530. See text.

3. Cranmer.

- (1) Under Henry VIII. Made a sudden leap to importance on the fall of Wolsey, and became Henry's ecclesiastical adviser. It was he who suggested that the validity of Henry's marriage should be submitted to the universities of Europe, asking them to give their opinion as to "whether the laws of God allow a man to marry his brother's widow." Hence in 1533, on the death of Archbishop Warham, he succeeded to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

During the breach with Rome he pronounced Henry's marriage "null and void from the beginning," and crowned Anne Boleyn.

Towards the end of the reign he was on the side of the advanced reformers, against Norfolk and Gardiner, who opposed doctrinal changes.

- (2) Under Edward VI. Closely associated with the advanced religious reforms of the reign. He was mainly responsible for the First and Second Books of Common Prayer (1549 and 1552), which removed from the Liturgy what was considered to savour of Roman superstition,

- (3) Under Mary. Imprisonment and death. On his character, see text.

4. Thomas Cromwell.

Was a clerk at Antwerp, a soldier in Italy, a merchant in Flanders, before he became Wolsey's servant. His defence of the fallen minister brought him into prominence. He became secretary of state in 1534.

Note the following points :—

- (1) Attitude towards Reformation. He advised Henry to become Head of the Church.
 - (2) Dissolution of the smaller monasteries, 1536. Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536. Large monasteries dissolved, 1539.
 - (3) Policy towards Wales.
 - (4) His opposition to Norfolk and Gardiner at end of reign.
 - (5) His fall, 1540.
5. Henry VIII and the Reformation.

Henry's part was to separate the Church in England from the Church of Rome. It was brought about by the divorce question, and accomplished by the Parliament of 1529-1536. The chief steps were :—

1531. Convocation acknowledges Henry as Supreme Head of the Church so far as the law of God allows.

1532. First Act of Annates, by which payment of firstfruits of bishoprics were suspended. Convocation yields its legislative powers to the King.

1533. Act of Appeals. Abolition of the Pope's jurisdiction in English ecclesiastical affairs. Henceforth the King's Courts are supreme in religious and civil cases.

1534. Second Act of Annates. King given the firstfruits of all benefices, and one-tenth of the annual incomes of bishops and clergy. Also he receives the right of appointing bishops, which he does by sending a *congé d'élire* to the Dean and Chapter, telling them whom to choose. The royal nominee is always elected. Peter's Pence abolished.

1534. Act of Supremacy This completed the separation from the Roman Catholic Church. Mary restored Catholicism and the Papacy. Elizabeth by the Act of Supremacy, 1559, made the breach final, and established the Church of England.

At the end of Henry VIII's reign there were three religious parties in England: (i) Those who wished to retain Catholicism and Papal authority; (ii) Those who wished to retain Catholicism without Papal authority; (iii) Those who wished to retain neither, but to reform the Church and abolish many of the doctrines of the Church of Rome.

1539. The Statute of Six Articles defines Henry's position.

6. The Act of Union and Welsh Self-Government.

The characteristic of the whole system of Tudor legislation

“is the use made of the help of the people themselves. The Justices of the Peace, it is true, had interests directly opposed to those of the people they governed: they were often alienated from them by contempt for their race, and by ignorance of their language; but their appointment was the first stage in the development of that local government which the Tudors have made the characteristic of later British history, and which has given Wales self-government.” See Ch. VI.

CHAPTER III

EDWARD VI. 1547-1553

Born 1537.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS :—

Scotland. Mary (1542-1567).

France. Henry II (1547-1559).

Spain. Charles I (1516-1556) Emperor Charles V.

Protector Somerset—Foreign policy—Religious policy—Rising in the West—Social rising in the East—Fall of Somerset—Northumberland—His religious policy—The Succession.

ON the death of his father Edward was not yet ten years of age. The old King foresaw the dangers of a minority, and guarded against them by appointing a Council of Regency, the members being carefully selected so as to ensure a moderate policy until Edward came of age. Henry, however, in his later years, had given an impetus to the Reformation movement, and the reformers found little difficulty in grasping the reins of power.

They were led by Edward Seymour, the King's uncle, who had been created Earl of Hertford, and now became Duke of Somerset. With him was Archbishop Cranmer. In the campaign of Solway Moss Somerset had acquired some degree of military renown. Kind, sympathetic and anxious for his country's welfare, he was not without ability. But vain and unpractical, he lacked the masterful will necessary to control the turbulent passions which the prospect of spoil aroused in his followers; nor could he himself refrain from appropriating an undue share of the worldly possessions of the Church.

Scotland, like England, was distracted by the two contending parties, Protestants and Catholics. The latter, supported by the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, leant towards French support, for the Guise family were powerful at the French court. The Protestants naturally looked to England. Somerset therefore had two reasons for interfering in Scotland: firstly, to help to establish Protestantism there, and diminish French influence; secondly, to urge forward the proposal

to marry Edward to Mary, the young Queen of Scots. Lacking in statesmanship, Somerset was tactless enough to suppose that

his objects could be attained by force of arms. This aggression united the two rival parties, and when

Somerset crossed the border he found the Scots firmly posted at Pinkie, a village not far from Edinburgh. As at Flodden, the Scots indiscreetly abandoned an almost impregnable position, and being attacked in sections, suffered a crushing defeat. Ruthless devastations followed, and in revenge Queen Mary was sent to France, where she was educated as a Catholic and betrothed to the dauphin.

Successful in a military sense, Somerset's campaign was politically a failure; for the Scottish Protestants, who favoured an English alliance, were alienated; French influence increased;

and Mary eventually married Francis II of France. Moreover, the French attacked Boulogne, and after a prolonged siege, retook it in 1548. When peace was arranged it remained in French hands.

In religion Somerset abandoned the settlement—Catholicism without Papal authority—mapped out by Henry VIII. He advocated reforms in the direction of the German Protestants, though his views were tolerant. Commissioners

were sent throughout the country authorised to remove images. These agents did their work with unnecessary violence, demolishing altars and destroying all relics and symbols of Popery. There were further confiscations, and the reformers found a new

channel for their energies in the abolition and disendowment of the trade-guilds. These were benefit societies of the town artisans for mutual assistance in time of need, to keep up the quality of goods, and to celebrate holidays with feasts and solemn services in the Church. The London guilds were considered too powerful to be attacked. Some grammar schools, called after "King Edward VI," were founded, but most of the wealth went to enrich Somerset and his friends.

As regards doctrine and services, Somerset repealed the Statute of Six Articles of 1539, and a "Book of Homilies" was issued which the clergy were to read instead of preaching

sermons. More important was the issue of the "First Prayer-Book of Edward VI," accompanied by an Act of Uniformity which compelled the clergy to

which the clergy were to read instead of preaching sermons. More important was the issue of the "First Prayer-Book of Edward VI," accompanied by an

Act of Uniformity which compelled the clergy to

(i) **Battle of Pinkie, 1547.**

(ii) **Loss of Boulogne.**

Somerset's Religious Policy.

(i) **Removal of Images.**

(ii) **The Guilds.**

(iii) **First Prayer-Book of Edward VI, 1549.**

use it in their churches. The old Latin services were abolished, and the Communion Service took the place of the Catholic Mass. Cranmer, who was Somerset's ecclesiastical adviser, was mainly responsible for this work. The superstitious accretions of the Middle Ages were excised, the ritual and services simplified, and so framed that Catholics and Protestants could worship without unduly violating their consciences.

These measures did not pass unchallenged. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, protested and were imprisoned. The sturdy men of Devonshire and

Rising in the West, 1549. the west clamoured for the restoration of the Six Articles, the old services and the Latin Mass. The

Reformation, however sublime in itself, had no attractions for them when allied with such ruthlessness, and presented in such sordid colours. The discontent burst into flame when, on Whit-Sunday 1549, the Prayer-Book was first used. The insurgents massed together, and marched on Exeter. The city was relieved by an army of Welshmen under William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, President of the Court of Wales, and the rebels were crushed by a body of foreign mercenaries at St. Mary's Clyst.

Although religious grievances were the avowed cause of the outbreak in the west, there existed considerable agricultural depression, and frequent riots had preceded the revolt. Land-

Agricultural Discontent. lords were finding it more profitable to use their lands for breeding sheep and selling the wool; for fewer labourers were required and wool fetched a good price.

Therefore, to increase their pasture-lands they ejected peasants, and enclosed the common lands on which the poorest tenants grazed their cattle, and to which the landlords had absolutely no private rights. The new landlords who replaced the monks were unsympathetic and oppressive; and wages, through the debasing of the coinage, bought less than before. These social evils made the lot of the peasant very hard, and encouraged vagrancy.

These were the causes which incited the eastern counties to rebellion, more especially (i) the enclosure of the commons, and

Social Rising in the East, 1549. (ii) the converting of arable land into pasture. Having found a leader in Robert Ket, a tanner, they

encamped on Mousehold Heath, and formulated their demands. Receiving no reply they stormed Norwich, and met with momentary success. Somerset sympathised with them; but

Warwick, who was entrusted with the command, defeated them with a force of foreign mercenaries on Mousehold Heath, and put them down with ruthless severity.

A month later Somerset was deposed from the Protectorate. Early in the year his own brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, the High-Admiral, had plotted his overthrow, and had been put to death without a fair trial. This discredited Somerset's rule. But his downfall was brought about by his general impotence and indecision. He had alienated the Scots and brought about war with France. His religious policy, while it did not please the more advanced section of the Council, had occasioned the revolt in the west. He wished to put an end to enclosures, and sympathised with the rebels in the east. In fact, the moment demanded a cleverer and more resolute character.

The Earl of Warwick, whose promptitude and energy had removed the danger in Norfolk, now wielded the chief power. He was the son of Edmund Dudley, the extortioner whom Henry VIII had put to death. Daring and ambitious, he realised that success lay with the more advanced reformers, and was less tolerant than Somerset. He made peace with Scotland, and with France by abandoning Boulogne; and he improved the coinage.

None were more active in bringing about the fall of Somerset than the Earl of Pembroke. This shrewd Welshman had married Anne Parr, the sister of Henry VIII's queen. At the dissolution of the monasteries he had been greatly enriched and was appointed by Henry VIII to be one of the Council of State during Edward VI's minority. In spite of Somerset's repeated efforts to win him to his side he remained an adherent of Warwick. His eldest son married Lady Catharine Grey when the Lady Jane was married to Warwick's son, Lord Guildford Dudley.

Warwick then took in hand the task of reformation. The work of removing images, destroying frescoes and demolishing altars proceeded with a violence amounting almost to sacrilege; and zeal on behalf of Protestantism afforded a specious pretext for appropriating the spoils of the Roman Catholic Church. Gardiner and Bonner were deprived of their

**Fall of
Somerset,
1549.**

**Rule of
Warwick,
afterwards
Duke of
Northumber-
land.**

**The Earl of
Pembroke.**

**(i) Religious
Policy.**

sees, and imprisoned for the rest of the reign for refusing to comply with the Act of Uniformity. Warwick, more unscrupulous than Somerset, did not hesitate to send victims to the stake. Nicholas Ridley succeeded Bonner as Bishop of London. Another staunch supporter of Warwick was Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester.

In 1552 Warwick, who had now become Duke of Northumberland, caused to be issued the "Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI";

(ii) **Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI, 1552.** and a second Act of Uniformity was passed requiring all the clergy to use it. This Prayer-Book went beyond that of 1549 in the direction of Protestantism ;

this was to some extent due to the influence of foreign divines who fled to this country to escape the tyranny of the Emperor Charles V. Such were Peter Martyr, an Italian, who became Professor of Theology at Oxford, and Martin Bucer, a German, who occupied a similar post at Cambridge. In all essential points it is the same as the present Book of Common Prayer, the service-book of the Church of England. The language is beautiful, the phraseology dignified, and the style exquisite. It was mainly the work of Cranmer, and constitutes his most valuable and lasting contribution to the Reformation.

The next important changes during Northumberland's rule were embodied in the "Forty-two Articles of Religion." In these

(iii) **Forty-two Articles, 1553.** Articles two sacraments only were retained, viz., Baptism and the Lord's Supper. These articles

were henceforth to be the standard of belief in the English Church. The "Thirty-nine Articles" of Elizabeth, which became the permanent standard of belief of the Church of England, were based upon them.

Meanwhile Northumberland's policy had provoked considerable discontent. Somerset, not being considered sufficiently dangerous,

Execution of Somerset, 1552. had been released, and became the hope of Northumberland's opponents. He was suspected of

intriguing against the Government, suddenly arrested, and sent to the block. The Council then passed a Treason Bill to defend the members and make their position stronger. They also made some attempt to alleviate social distress by passing a Poor law, calling upon the parishes to collect money for the relief of the poor, and inquiring into agricultural distress (1552).

The young King evinced marked sympathy with Northumber-

land's rule. But Edward was weak and sickly, and destined for an early grave. According to the will of Henry VIII, Northumberland and the Succession. sanctioned by Parliament, the throne was to pass on the death of Edward without heirs, to the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon. Mary being a bitter and undisguised opponent of the Reformation, Northumberland had forbidden her the privilege of celebrating mass. Her accession meant his ruin. He therefore persuaded Edward to disregard Henry VIII's will and make a will of his own. By this will both Mary and her half-sister Elizabeth were passed over in favour of Lady Jane Grey, who was a zealous Protestant, and, what was of supreme importance to Northumberland, married to his son, Lord Guildford Dudley. In this way he hoped to dictate her policy and safeguard the interests of Protestantism.

Edward died on July 6, 1553. He was well educated ; but his perseverance had put too much strain on his weak constitution. Northumberland, by concealing his death for a few days, won over the chief men of the Council, and Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen. Northumberland's government was, however, unpopular in the country, and the sympathy of the people **Death of Edward VI.** went out to Mary who had the better claim. When Northumberland marched against her his soldiers refused to fight, and he was himself forced to shout for Queen Mary.

NOTES AND CHIEF DATES.

1. Somerset's Rule, 1547-1549.

(a) Foreign Policy.

- (i) Scotland. To establish Protestantism, diminish French influence, and marry Edward to Mary Queen of Scots. Pinkie, 1547, with disastrous results.
- (ii) France. Loss of Boulogne.

(b) Home Policy.

Advanced reforms in religion. N.B.—First Prayer-Book of Edward VI, 1549. Risings in East and West, 1549.

2. Rule of Northumberland, 1549-1553.

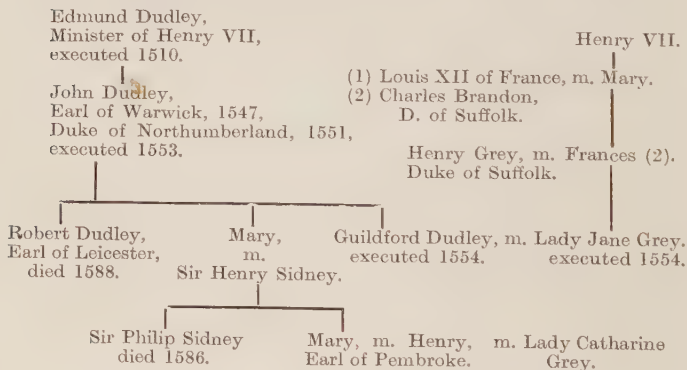
Note (i) Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI, 1552 ; (ii) Forty-two Articles ; (iii) Execution of Somerset ; (iv) Scheme for the Succession.

3. Economic Importance of the Reign.

(a) Agricultural depression was due to :—

- (i) Increase of sheep-farming and consequent unemployment of agricultural labourers. Still, the stimulus to woollen manufactures gave employment in another direction.

- (ii) Enclosure of common lands.
 - (iii) Indifference of the new landlords—those brought into existence by Reformation confiscations—to the lot of the peasant.
 - (iv) Debasement of coinage.
 - (v) Abolition of livery and maintenance, and the disbanding of the retainers of the great nobles.
 - (b) Poor Law Reform.
 - (i) Act of 1536, instituting collections on Sunday for relief of the poor.
 - (ii) Edward VI's legislation.
 - (iii) Elizabeth's poor law reforms.
 - (c) Note that the commercial treaties of Henry VII steadily fostered trade, and manufactures began to flourish. Many Englishmen now took to a life of adventure and privateering.
4. The Dudleys.



CHAPTER IV

MARY. 1553-1558

Born 1516; married, 1554, Philip of Spain.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS:—

Scotland. Mary (1542-1567).

France. Henry II (1547-1559).

Spain. Charles I (1516-1556) Emperor Charles V.

Philip II (1556-1598).

Northumberland's plot—Character of Mary—Religious policy—Gardiner—The Spanish Marriage—Wyatt's Rebellion—England and the Papacy—Cardinal Pole—The Marian Persecution—Welsh Martyrs—Loss of Calais—Death of Mary.

NORTHUMBERLAND's plot to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne collapsed. Mary's better title appealed to the people's sense of justice, and their respect for hereditary right.

Northumberland's Failure. The prevailing social and religious unrest were attributed to his rule. He violated national feeling by appealing for French assistance. Most important of all, Mary was thought to represent the religious policy of her father, Henry VIII, who, while abolishing Papal supremacy in England, retained the Roman Catholic form of worship. Therefore on Northumberland's departure from London after proclaiming Lady Jane Grey as Queen, the Council, led by the Earl of Pembroke, declared for Mary; the fleet took up her cause; Northumberland's troops mutinied; and at Cambridge he himself submitted. Utterly unprincipled, he tried to stave off the vengeance of his enemies by declaring the Protestant faith to be an imposture. Nothing availed. On Mary's accession he was deservedly executed on a charge of treason; while Lady Jane and her husband, though condemned on a similar charge, had their lives spared for the present.

Mary, the first woman to rule in England, came to the throne amid unfeigned rejoicing. She possessed the same courage and stubborn purpose that characterised all the Tudors.

Character of Mary. She always cherished a tender affection for her mother's memory; and her devotion to the Catholic religion

was deep and sincere. Unfortunately, alone of the Tudors she failed to understand her people; and believing that England had strayed from the path of the true faith, her stern and terrible sense of duty led her into an unparalleled series of persecutions which have given her an unenviable notoriety among English sovereigns.

The first year of her reign did not forebode the evil days so soon to follow. Cranmer and other Protestant bishops, refusing to avail

Henry VIII's Policy restored. themselves of opportunities to escape, were placed in solitary confinement. Gardiner and Bonner were released and restored to the sees of Winchester and

London respectively. Gardiner became Chancellor, and as one of Mary's chief advisers, partly guided her policy till his death in 1555. He had acquiesced in Henry VIII's religious policy during

Gardiner. that monarch's reign, and had suffered imprisonment in trying to uphold it against the innovations of

Edward VI's minister. That policy was now so far restored that the Six Articles were enforced, Edward VI's acts repealed, the celebration of the mass enforced, while Mary took the title of Supreme Head of the Church. The Earl of Pembroke, who was at first looked upon with a certain amount of distrust, soon won Mary's complete confidence, and was one of the chief personages in England in the marriage negotiations which were now set on foot.

She was now thirty-seven years old, and Gardiner wished her to marry an English nobleman, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon.

The Spanish Marriage. Mary, in refusing this advice, committed her first serious blunder. She listened rather to the advice of the Emperor Charles V who offered her in marriage

his son and heir Philip of Spain. The proposal was extremely unpopular, for Philip was one of the most uncompromising enemies of the Protestants of Germany; and it was feared that England would now become a Spanish dependency, and Mary a willing tool in the hands of the Emperor. However, in spite of the wishes of Parliament Mary's inflexible determination prevailed, and the marriage was solemnised by Gardiner at Winchester, on July 25, 1554.

The dissatisfaction against this foreign alliance had already, a few months previously, culminated in the revolt of the Kentishmen

Wyatt's Rebellion, 1554. under Sir Thomas Wyatt. The movement was ill-concerted. The rebels marched on London, seized

Southwark, and created a panic in the city. Pembroke took command of the army, while Mary herself appealed to the

citizens and gave them assurances. Thereupon the insurgents melted away. Wyatt and the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey, were taken and executed. Believing that Lady Jane

Execution of might become the rallying-point of further plots
Lady Jane and a menace to her throne, Mary had her executed
Grey. on the former charge of treason. Her husband, Lord

Guildford Dudley, perished with her. The life of Mary's half-sister, the princess Elizabeth, was also endangered, but her complicity with the rebels was not proved. For the rest of the reign she discreetly cultivated Mary's friendship and shared her religious devotions.

Her success in the marriage question encouraged Mary to proceed with her reactionary policy in religion, and to bring England back

England to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. She
reconciled met the wishes of Parliament in the matter of the
to the Papacy. Abbey lands by securing them to their holders.

This difficulty removed, Parliament became utterly subservient: the statutes of Henry VIII against the Papacy were repealed; Mary abandoned the title of Supreme Head of the Church; England was reconciled to Rome, and statutes against heretics revived. Gardiner, who had advised against the restoration of Papal supremacy, now publicly declared for an alliance with Rome, and fell in with the wishes of his royal mistress.

Gardiner died towards the end of 1555, but not before the persecution had begun. Mary's chief agent in her fierce resolution to stamp out heresy was Cardinal Pole. For many years he had lived in enforced exile. His mother, the Countess of Salisbury, had been executed on a charge of treason

Cardinal
Pole. by Henry VIII. After many weary months of waiting his opportunity had come at last, and he was warmly welcomed by Mary as papal legate. Thus armed with extraordinary powers against the Protestants, he became Mary's responsible adviser and the most implacable agent of her persecution. Several victims were awaiting their doom behind prison bars. A commission, presided over by Pole, was set up to try the heretics; and in the early days of 1555 the destructive fires were lighted.

Among the first to suffer were Rogers, Prebendary of St. Paul's, Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, and Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's.

The Marian
Persecution. Ferrar appears to have been most unoffending, and had already suffered imprisonment in the previous reign. He refused to recant, and was handed over

to the Sheriff of Carmarthen. In the market-place there he was burnt to death on March 30, 1555. He suffered death cheerfully, although the sympathies of the people were against him and his faith. The Welsh people were not enamoured of Protestantism and the sacrilegious methods of its agents, and for long afterwards remained silently devoted to the Catholic religion.

Latimer and Ridley followed to the stake. Latimer's words resounded like a shrill trumpet call, and victims were forthcoming in increasing numbers. "Be of good cheer, brother Ridley," he exclaimed, "play the man; for we shall this day light a candle which by God's grace shall not be put out." Next year Cranmer was condemned. He was now old, and on his trial showed much of the weakness and vacillation which had always characterised him. At the last moment he abjured his faith. But Mary's vengeance was not likely to stay on the priest who had divorced her mother. At the point of death he found his courage, publicly renounced his adherence to Catholicism, and died a Protestant. He wished to atone for the forms of abjuration he had signed, and when the fires were lighted he plunged his right hand into the flames so that it should be burnt first, and exclaimed, "This hand hath offended."

Nicol of Haverfordwest perished in 1558. Rawlins White, a fisherman of Cardiff, perished about the same time as Bishop Ferrar. Condemned by the Bishop of Llandaff he was led to the stake from his prison in Cardiff Castle. It was market day, and a great concourse of people had assembled. He calmly drew the straw around him, and as he was being bound by a great iron chain he quietly remarked, "Knock in the chain fast, for it may be the flesh will strive mightily." The fire being set, he was consumed in a great and sudden flame.

During those three years (1555-1558) nearly three hundred victims perished, young maidens, old men, tradesmen, clergy, and men of all stations. The persecution was severest in and around London, where Cardinal Pole as Archbishop and Bonner as Bishop of London wielded authority. Pole's temper seems to have been soured by long exile, and he became merciless and vindictive. But the sacrifices availed nothing, and repression failed. Mary's husband Philip had already

Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, 1555.

Ridley and Latimer.

Martyrdom of Cranmer, 1556.

Rawlins White of Cardiff.

A Vain Sacrifice.

left the country, convinced that the flames of persecution served but to sear hatred of Romanism more deeply into the consciences of Englishmen. Many fled from the country and joined the enemies of Spain on land and sea. A return to Roman Catholicism was already an impossibility.

To please Philip the unhappy Mary now committed her last disastrous blunder by plunging the country into war with France.

Philip defeated the French at St. Quentin in Picardy ;
Loss of Calais, 1558. but Henry II, the French King, retaliated with a vigorous onslaught on Calais, and in January, 1558, the town was taken by the Duke of Guise. In those days Calais was to Englishmen what Gibraltar is to-day, and its loss was as agonising to Mary as it was humiliating to national pride, for it had been an English possession for over two hundred years.

Coldly neglected by her husband, disappointed in not having a child to succeed her on the throne, her cherished hope of restoring England to the Catholic fold doomed to failure, her only friend, Cardinal Pole, on his death-bed, and Calais lost, Mary's life was indeed a tragedy. She died on November 17, 1558, and on the following day Cardinal Pole followed her to the grave. She died unwept. But her firm and steadfast belief that stern unrelenting persecution alone could put down heresy, and her devotion to the inexorable call of duty, have done much to palliate her errors. Elizabeth was recognised as her successor, and the nation eagerly awaited the inevitable return to Protestantism.

CHIEF DATES.

Wyatt's Rebellion	.	.	.	.	.	1554	:
Reconciliation with Rome	.	.	.	.	.	1554-1555	:
Marian Persecution	.	.	.	.	.	1555-1558	:
Cranmer burnt	.	.	.	.	.	1556	:
Loss of Calais	.	.	.	.	.	1558	:

NOTES.

1. Stephen Gardiner.

- (a) Under Henry VIII. Was Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Became Secretary of State. Supported the party of Norfolk, retaining the Catholic faith minus Papal supremacy. He submitted to Henry as Head of the Church.

(b) Edward VI. Imprisonment.

- (c) Mary. Becomes Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor. He advocated reconciliation with Rome. Though he died shortly

after the persecution began, he was in favour of extreme measures. He died in 1553.

2. Mary and Parliament.

- (i) Unlike the other Tudors, Mary failed to base her power on popularity with the nation. She did not judge its temper.
- (ii) Parliament showed independence in so far as to insist that Church confiscated property should be guaranteed to the new landed class.
- (iii) Otherwise it was subservient and agreed to the reconciliation with Rome.

CHAPTER V

ELIZABETH. 1558-1603

Born 1533.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS :—

<i>Scotland.</i>	Mary Stuart (1542-1567).
	James VI (1567-1625).
<i>France.</i>	Henry II (1547-1559).
	Francis II (1559-1560).
	Charles IX (1560-1574).
	Henry III (1574-1589).
<i>Spain.</i>	Henry IV (1589-1610).
	Philip II (1556-1598).
	Philip III (1598-1621).

Elizabeth's difficulties — Lord Burghley — Religious Settlement—
Catholic and Puritan opposition—Independents—Foreign policy—
Scotland—Mary Queen of Scots—Ridolfi Plot—Seminary priests—
Jesuits—Recusancy Laws —Execution of Mary Queen of Scots—
The Netherlands —The Sea-dogs —The Armada—War with Spain
continued—Elizabeth and Parliament—Cecil and Raleigh—Ireland
—The Poor Law.

THE stress and fury of the two previous reigns bequeathed serious difficulties to the new Queen. Persecution had widened the breach

between Catholics and Protestants and embittered religious feeling. The debased coinage reduced the purchasing power of the labourer's wages and disorganised trade. Social and agrarian unrest caused by the enclosures of the commons and the conversion of arable into pasture land fostered vagrancy. Abroad, the war with France continued, and the wound occasioned by the loss of Calais was still open. The Court of Scotland was closely connected with that of France. The finances were in chaos and the country in debt. That England came safely through these tempestuous seas was due to the extraordinary political wisdom of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was now twenty-five years of age. From her mother,

the gay Anne Boleyn, she inherited a fair share of female vanities.

Character of Elizabeth. With many attractive qualities, she revelled in the company of flatterers, and was hard-hearted and deceitful. Beneath this outward garb

of frivolity lurked those sterner qualities which characterised all the Tudors. Foresight, courage, strong purpose were there, although relieved perhaps by occasional lapses into indecision. Tenacious of power, she was blessed with exceptional tact and wisdom in wielding it. Like her father, Henry VIII, she almost instinctively conceived the best policy for her country and threw all her energies into accomplishing it. Well educated, but bereft of strong religious convictions, she was the better able to steer the ship of state through the stormy billows of religious strife which confronted her.

Elizabeth was happy in her selection of counsellors. With keen insight she put her chief trust in William Cecil—in 1571 created

**William Cecil,
Lord
Burghley,
1558-1598.**

Lord Burghley—a shrewd, acute statesman who, first as Secretary of State and then as Treasurer, guided the destinies of the nation for forty years.

In religion his views were more advanced than the Queen, who had a fond affection for the ceremonies of the Roman faith, was inclined to tolerate. Nevertheless, he allowed himself to be swayed less by religious sentiment than by his unflinching determination to secure a wise and stable government, and prevent England from becoming dependent upon a foreign power. The Earl of Pembroke who, during the Marian persecution had been Governor of Calais, now returned, and with Cecil guided the affairs of the country in the earlier part of the reign. Shrewder statesmen never graced a throne.

The most pressing difficulty at the beginning of the reign was religion. Henry VIII had severed the connection between England

**The Religious
Difficulty.**

and Rome, but had retained the Roman Catholic form of worship. Under his successor, Edward VI, the extreme reformers, the Calvinists, won supremacy, and the relics and symbols of Catholicism were trampled upon. Mary proceeded to the other extreme, bringing England back to the Roman communion, and even restoring the supremacy of the Pope. Elizabeth found a more permanent solution in a middle course between the extreme views of Calvinists and Catholics, and on this basis established the Church of England.

To accomplish this Elizabeth chose as Primate Mathew Parker,

a moderate reformer after her own heart. Convocation, consisting mainly of the late Queen's nominees, would not be induced to proceed with Elizabeth along a path of moderation; but Parliament, which reflected the wishes of the mass of the people, was more amenable to her will, and immediately reversed Mary's religious legislation.

Elizabeth's Religious Settlement, 1559.

In 1559 an Act of Supremacy was passed which did away with Papal supremacy in England, and made Elizabeth

(i) **Act of Supremacy.** "Supreme Governor of the Realm in Ecclesiastical and Temporal Causes." To conciliate the Catholics she abandoned the title of "Supreme Head." By this act, too, a

(ii) **Court of High Commission.** new court was constituted, called the Court of High Commission, with summary jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters. Originally a serviceable handmaid of stable government, this Court under the Stuarts became a pitiless instrument of tyranny. The Mass was abolished; and the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI replaced the Latin services of the Catholic worship. However, there were certain modifications: the Communion Service was so framed as not to offend the consciences of moderate Catholics; and many symbols were retained. A new Act

(iii) **Act of Uniformity.** of Uniformity imposed penalties on those who refused to abide by these changes, and to attend Church. A few years later, in 1563, the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI were revised and reduced to Thirty-nine, and in this form they became the standard of faith of the Church of England.

Thirty-nine Articles, 1563. This religious policy met the views of the majority of the nation. Comparatively few of the clergy refused to take the oath of supremacy; but thirteen bishops, including Bonner, were deprived of their sees. Amongst them was Henry Morgan, Bishop of St. David's. He had been appointed to the see by Queen Mary, in 1554, on account of his great learning and his devotion to the Roman Catholic faith.

This settlement was wide and comprehensive, so that the majority of her people could find satisfaction in it. In the sixteenth century

Character of the Settlement. it was considered the duty of the state to compel all subjects to conform to the religion of the sovereign, and to impose penalties. Men were not yet familiar with the idea of religious toleration. Elizabeth and her ministers connived at minor breaches so long as her subjects remained law-abiding, and did not parade their defiance of her religious decrees.

Later in the reign circumstances compelled her to be more severe.

She had to face opposition from two irreconcilable extremes. On the one hand were the extreme Catholics, the danger from whom was accentuated by a reaction, which had sprung up

Opposition of in the Church of Rome itself with the object of purify-
(i) Catholics. ing the Papacy and checking the advance of Protes-

tantism. This movement was the Counter-Reformation, consummated at the Council of Trent, 1563. Those Catholics who longed for a reunion with Rome, and refused to attend Elizabeth's Church, were called "recusants." Their penalties, at first mild, became increasingly harsh.

Another extreme section of the people clamoured for more thorough-going reforms in the direction of Calvinism, which was making rapid headway on the continent, especially in

(ii) The France. The Calvinists were the followers of the great
Puritans. French reformer, John Calvin, who had established his

Church in the free city of Geneva. They held that the Church should be ruled not by bishops, but by councils or *presbyters* consisting of laymen as well as ministers. Hence they were called Presbyterians, as in Scotland. Believing in severe simplicity of worship they rejected elaborate ceremonies, the sign of the Cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, surplices and set prayers. They enforced strict discipline, and insisted on purity in doctrine as well as in morals. Hence they came to be called Puritans.

For the present the Puritans remained in the Church. On the one hand, Elizabeth herself realised their strength and dreaded to

Parker's throw them into active hostility till her own religious
Advertise- system had been accepted by the majority of the
ments, 1565. people. On the other hand, the Puritans recognised in

Elizabeth a bulwark against Roman Catholicism, and even ventured to believe that she would gradually introduce Puritan reforms.

Such fondly cherished hopes were rudely shattered when, in 1565,

Archbishop Parker issued his "Advertisements," which enjoined rigorous conformity with the law and the wearing of surplices.

The Puritans were furious: it was the beginning of the persecution which drove some of the noblest souls in England to seek religious freedom in other lands. A number of them who had sufficient

courage to refuse to abide by the "Advertisements"
Independents "separated" from the church. Hence they were
or Separatists. called "Separatists." They were also called "Inde-

pendents," because they believed that each congregation should rule itself and not be under the authority of bishops. Unlike the Presbyterians, they did not believe that the Church should be supported by State endowments. One of their most prominent leaders was named Browne. Hence the term "Brownists," which is sometimes applied to them. These were our first "Dissenters," or "Nonconformists."

Similar religious difficulties to those which beset Elizabeth and Cecil complicated the affairs of Europe. Early in 1559 the two hostile powers, France and Spain, actuated by a common desire to eradicate the spreading rootlets of Protestantism, made peace at the Treaty of Cateau

The European Situation.

Cambrésis, by which France was secured in the possession of Calais in return for her sacrifices to Spain in Italy. These powers, however, were still distrustful of each other, and each competed for the friendship of England. At first Elizabeth had more to fear from France, for the following reasons. In 1559 Mary Queen of Scots became Queen of France, and good Catholics in England believed that her claim to the English throne was stronger than that of Elizabeth. Mary herself actually took the title of Queen of England. (See table, p. 57). The possible union of England, France and Scotland under one crown was a dark prospect to Philip of Spain, and he had really no alternative but to support Elizabeth. The Queen realizing this, could afford to dally with Philip's proposal of marriage. When his suit failed, it was proposed to marry Elizabeth to Charles, Archduke of Austria, which would accomplish the same object of uniting Spain and England. This also fell through.

For the present, therefore, Elizabeth refrained from entering into any foreign alliance. Her statesmen were anxious that she should marry and ensure a Protestant succession. But a foreign marriage might alienate her people and condemn her to an alliance when she could be independent.

Elizabeth's Attitude.

For Spain could not afford to lose her friendship; and France was harassed by incessant strife between the Catholics and Huguenots. Moreover, in 1560, Francis II of France died, and Mary Queen of Scots, being left a widow, returned to Scotland. France had little interest in pressing her claims to the throne of England. Lastly, Scottish affairs had taken a turn favourable to Elizabeth.

During the absence of Mary Queen of Scots in France, her mother,



Mary of Guise, governed the northern kingdom as regent. She

was a zealous Catholic and in close touch with the
Elizabeth and Scotland. Court of France. Her rule was not acceptable to a

large section of the nobility, and a Protestant league was formed which styled itself the "Lords of the Congregation."

Its object was to resist French political influence in the internal affairs of Scotland, and to abolish Catholicism. The struggle between the two factions was in its infancy when there arrived a leader eminently fitted to direct a revolution. This was the famous preacher, John Knox. Having been driven out of Scotland by

John Knox. Mary of Guise, he sought refuge in Geneva, where he fortified himself under the stern discipline of Calvin.

On her accession Elizabeth refused to allow him to settle in England, as his views were too extreme. Moreover, he had vehemently denounced the rule of women in a book entitled, *The Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Knox thereupon landed in Scotland. His unflinching courage and stormy oratory swept the Guises from power. Catholicism was ruthlessly suppressed; images and relics were removed; cathedrals were pillaged; the lords seized the Church lands as in England, and Presbyterianism was established—a more heroic change than the compromising Reformation in England.

Mary of Guise appealed to France, and a French force seized Leith. In such straits the "Lords of the Congregation" approached

Treaty of Edinburgh, 1560. Elizabeth and proposed a marriage alliance with the Earl of Arran, next heir to the Scottish throne after

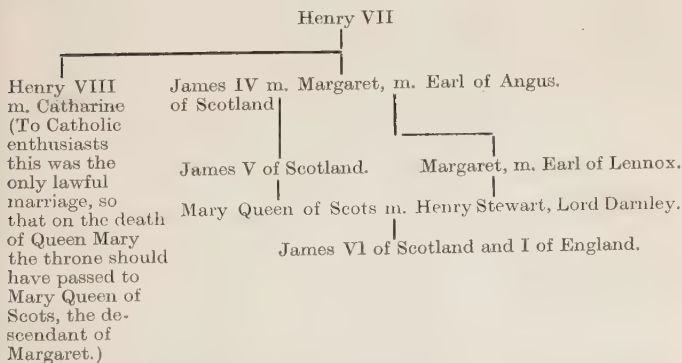
Mary Queen of Scots. Elizabeth would not hear of the marriage; nor did she profess sympathy with the rebels, for she hated Knox. Nevertheless, by a politic stroke she sent troops northwards, and the French were compelled to surrender. In 1560 the Treaty of Edinburgh or Leith was signed, by which the French and English agreed to leave Scotland. A Protestant government was established and an alliance made with England. The old friendship between Scotland and France was undermined, and the way prepared for the union of the two crowns under Elizabeth's successor. Finally, and most momentous of all, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, based on the ideas of Calvin, replaced the old Catholic Church, just as the Church of England replaced it on this side of the Tweed.

In 1561, Mary Queen of Scots arrived in her own country.

Lovely and fascinating, she was as ambitious as she was beautiful.

Mary Queen of Scots. Outspoken and passionate where Elizabeth was cool and calculating, she was, nevertheless, endowed with more than average political ability. An unkind

destiny condemned her, craving for power, to comparative impotence. On landing in Scotland she met with an indifferent welcome; her people cherished a religion which she abhorred; and the government was in the hands of the Earl of Moray, the Presbyterian leader. Her first impulse was to bide her time, and for four years she refrained from active hostility to the government. Meanwhile, she succeeded in forming a party among the nobles, and while acquiescing in the Presbyterian form of religion, herself attended mass.



Chafing beneath her enforced powerlessness, Mary, to strengthen her position, married her cousin Lord Darnley, a zealous Catholic who had claims to the English Crown. In doing so she set Elizabeth at defiance; for it encouraged a rebellious spirit in the English Catholics in favour of

Murder of Rizzio, 1566,

Mary, a danger which had compelled Elizabeth to try and dissuade her from the marriage. The Scottish Presbyterians, too, resented the alliance, but their rising was crushed and Moray sought refuge in England. Unfortunately for Mary, Darnley was a weak and jealous husband who disliked the confidence Mary reposed in her Italian secretary, David Rizzio. One evening in March, 1566, he entered Holyrood Palace with a body of conspirators, dragged Rizzio

from the Queen's presence, and murdered him. In February of the following year the house in which Darnley was and of Darnley, 1567. residing was suddenly blown up by gunpowder, and Darnley himself killed. The Earl of Bothwell, a brutal border chieftain who had won Mary's affections and secured complete ascendancy over her, was generally regarded as the instigator of the crime; and Mary's continued confidence in him made the Scots suspicious that she herself was privy to it. However, after a sham trial he was acquitted; and amid a shudder of abhorrence Mary took him as her husband.

The universal resentment of the Scots culminated in open rebellion, and on June 15, 1567, Mary was captured at Carberry Hill, not far from Edinburgh. She was subsequently Mary Queen of Scots in England, 1568. compelled to abdicate in favour of her son, James VI, and Moray once more became regent. Next year she contrived to escape from Lochleven Castle, but was again defeated by Moray at Langside, not far from Glasgow. She reached Carlisle, and with the audacity of despair appealed to her rival Elizabeth for help.

The arrival of Mary in England marks a new period in the history of the reign. Elizabeth could not give her assistance without alienating a friendly Protestant government in Scotland, which was of immense service to England. Yet Second Period of the Reign. 1568 1588. to refuse help appeared to countenance rebellious subjects. If allowed to proceed to France Mary might have become the centre of plots against Elizabeth's throne; but the open wounds of religious strife were weakening that country, and Philip of Spain would not have assisted a protégée of France to the English throne. In keeping her a prisoner in England Elizabeth chose not the least dangerous alternative. She certainly secured control of Mary's person, but at the cost of twenty years' merciless intrigue and desperate conspiracies. For Mary at once became the rallying point of Catholic fanaticism, which, believing the marriage between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn illegal, declared Elizabeth illegitimate and Mary the lawful Queen. Spain, as champion of Catholicism, now becomes England's chief enemy abroad.

A commission was appointed to investigate the charges against Mary. The "Casket Letters," alleged to have been written by Mary and Bothwell, were produced by Moray, and Casket Letters. if genuine, proved Mary's complicity in the murder

of Darnley. But Mary's supporters held that they were a forgery. However, the court was dissolved and Mary remained in England in honourable imprisonment.

Danger soon appeared in the north. It was the first and last serious open attempt to place Mary Queen of Scots on the throne of England. The leaders were the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, zealous Catholics who resented Cecil's predominance at court. The insurrection was suppressed and the leaders fled. The Earl of Pembroke, now Lord Steward, was suspected of being implicated in the plot and placed under temporary arrest; but having protested his innocence he was restored to favour. Soon afterwards he died. His career illustrates the prominent part Welshmen were now playing in the general politics of England.

In the following year, 1570, the Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, was assassinated in the streets of Linlithgow. The same year Pope Pius V issued a Bull excommunicating Elizabeth and declaring her deposed. Loyalty to the Queen at once kindled into a blaze of anger. Moderate men would not tolerate such foreign interference; and a fervidly Protestant Parliament was not slow to avenge itself on Catholics. Penal laws were passed against them, and a new law forbade the introduction of papal bulls into the country. Henceforth it was impossible to be a true Catholic and a loyal subject. Following close upon this came the Ridolfi Plot, so called from the Italian who was the chief agent in it. The real plotters were the Pope and Philip of Spain. An effort was made to implicate the Duke of Norfolk, it being suggested that he should marry Mary. His complicity was discovered, and in 1572 he was put to death.

None of Elizabeth's ministers were more assiduous in ferreting out these treasonable designs than Sir Francis Walsingham, who became Secretary of State in 1573. His spies were everywhere, and conspirators were already on the scaffold before their plans had matured. The success of the reign was in great part due to his skilful diplomacy and subtle methods.

These failures served but to nerve the Catholics to greater activity. At Douai, a little town in the Netherlands, an Englishman named William Allen, who later became a Cardinal, assisted

by two Welshmen, Dr. Morgan Phillips of Monmouthshire, and Dr. Owen Lewis, son of an Anglesey squire, who later founded **The Semi-nary Priests.** the English College at Rome, established a college or seminary for secular clergy. Here they trained young priests who, in a few years, returned to reconvert England and Wales to Catholicism. Their campaign began in 1574. As agents of the Papacy they denied royal supremacy, and their attitude was menacing. In 1577 one of them was seized with a papal bull in his possession and immediately executed.

The methods of Elizabeth's enemies had now become so insidious and their plots so dangerous that conformity with the law became imperative. **Archbishop Grindal.** On the death of Archbishop Parker in 1575 Elizabeth appointed Grindal to succeed him. His religious views were broad and tolerant, and he allowed the Puritans to hold meetings or "prophesyings," by which they were encouraged to evade the law. Elizabeth became very indignant, suspended him from his office, and suppressed the "prophesyings." Earlier in the reign Cecil would have overlooked minor irregularities. On the death of Grindal in 1583 Whitgift became Archbishop. With him toleration was nothing short of treason.

This was absolutely necessary, for in 1580 the work of the Jesuits had begun. This Order was established in 1540 by a disabled **The Jesuits.** Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola, to purify the Catholic Church, and to suppress Protestantism. Its members swore to unquestioning obedience, and shrank from no means, however terrible, to accomplish their end. In Spain they were the instigators of the Inquisition, which dealt pitilessly with heretics. In France, too, they were active. There the real ruler was Catherine de Medici, the queen-mother, who endeavoured to play the two parties, Catholics and Huguenots, against each other. After much bitter strife a compromise was arrived at, and the **Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572.** Huguenot leaders, Henry of Navarre and Coligny, were bidding fair to gain ascendancy over the King, Charles IX, when Catharine, fearful of losing her power, plotted with the family of Guise, the champions of the Catholic faction, to overthrow their rivals. Suddenly in August, 1572, at a given signal the Huguenots in Paris were brutally massacred, and the horrors spread to the provinces with terrible results. For some time Elizabeth had been dallying with Henry of Anjou, a brother of

the French King, in order to threaten Spain with an Anglo-French alliance. A coolness now sprang up between the two countries, though it did not deter Elizabeth from pretending to negotiate a marriage with another brother of the French King, the Duke of Alençon, a pretence which was kept up for several years.

Meanwhile, papal and Jesuit intrigue continued with amazing persistence. Behind all was Philip of Spain. He was at the root of Desmond's rising in Ireland in 1579. In Scotland the Jesuits tried to capture the young King James VI so as to bring him up as a Catholic. Fortunately, in

**Jesuit Mission
in England,
1580.**

what was called the Raid of Ruthven, the Protestant lords secured the King's person. In 1580 a Jesuit mission invaded England, propagating the dangerous doctrine that Catholics might justifiably plot the Queen's overthrow. The leader of the mission in Wales was John Bennett who, though tortured and banished in 1583, returned again and died of the plague in 1625. He was assisted by William Davies who came to Wales in 1585, and having laboured for eight years, suffered death in 1593. Its principal agents were Parsons and Campion, whose methods were as subtle as their objects were daring. They wandered in disguise, but Cecil and Walsingham were alert and tracked them out. Parsons escaped, Campion was captured and put on the rack before paying the penalty of death for his temerity. The laws against recusants were made

**Recusancy
Laws, 1581.**

very severe. It became treason to convert any one to Popery. Torture was applied to extract confession from stubborn victims, and pitiless vengeance pursued all opponents of Elizabeth. So great, indeed, was the danger to her life and throne that the least opposition was accounted treason.

Stringent measures were not without justification. In 1583 the discovery of a widespread conspiracy startled Elizabeth and her

**Throgmor-
ton's Plot,
1583.**

advisers, and convinced them that open conflict with Philip of Spain could not be indefinitely deferred. The Duke of Parma, Philip's general in the Netherlands, was carrying all before him, and a Spanish force was to cross the Channel and assist a Catholic rising in England; the object being as before to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary Queen of Scots on the throne. However, it only served to add one more to the list of abortive plots. It had one important outcome, however.

Almost every Englishman joined an association formed by Walsingham and Cecil, now Lord Burghley, to protect the Queen against conspiracies, and to exclude from the throne any person on whose behalf such conspiracies were formed. This was aimed at Mary, whose death would follow if Elizabeth were assassinated. The Spanish ambassador in London was dismissed. England and Spain became open enemies. In 1584 William of Orange (The Silent), who had struggled valiantly against the legions of Spain in the Netherlands, was assassinated; and the breach became irreparable.

Two years later another plot—Babington's—was discovered, in which Mary herself was implicated. Walsingham was not asleep. Many even of the conspirators were his trusted spies. Babington assisted him by vainly boasting of what he would do, and was immediately put to death. Of the many Welshmen who took part in the plot the most notable was Thomas Salesbury of Lleweni Denbighshire. He was accused of having tried to rouse North Wales on behalf of Mary, but he protested that his only object was to secure her release. He was the first of the conspirators to be executed. One of the chief organisers of the plot was Thomas Morgan, Mary's private secretary in Paris. He was so zealous on Mary's behalf that Elizabeth offered £10,000 for his surrender.

Mary was put on trial at Fotheringay Castle, near Peterborough. She protested that no such court could exercise authority over her—a Queen, and no subject of Elizabeth. However, her guilt was established, and, not without considerable hesitation, Elizabeth signed her death-warrant. This was in February, 1587. Even then Elizabeth would not allow the warrant to be carried out. The Council however ordered Davison, the Secretary of State, to put it into execution, and Elizabeth with unjustifiable meanness ruined him for doing so. Mary met her death calmly and courageously at Fotheringay Castle. There was no longer anything to be gained by the Catholics by murdering Elizabeth, for her successor was James VI of Scotland, who was a Protestant.

The death of Mary led immediately to the coming of the Spanish Armada. But for many years previously there had been ceaseless hostility between the two countries, though open war was averted. Not the least of Philip's

The "Bond of Association," 1584.

Babington's Conspiracy, 1586.

Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, 1587.

Elizabeth and the Netherlands.

grievances against Elizabeth was the secret help she sent to the Netherlands, which were part of his dominions. Not only did she contribute financial aid, but she allowed her subjects to serve in the Dutch army. Of those who helped to establish Dutch liberty none were more gallant than Sir Wm. Morgan of Monmouthshire, who, with a strong force of Welshmen seized Mons, and held it against Alva and the Spaniards in 1572. His prowess was emulated later by his kinsman, Sir Thomas Morgan, who fought with Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen. The Netherlands consisted of seventeen provinces. In 1579 the seven northern provinces, which were Protestant in religion, formed a Federation or Republic with William of Orange as their governor or Stadtholder. The religion they adopted was Calvinism. This was the beginning of the Dutch Republic, which all the vast financial resources of Spain failed to crush. It was Elizabeth's policy to increase Philip's difficulties there by sending help and seizing his treasure ships as they sailed up the channel, and so prevent him throwing an army across into England.

However the Spanish general, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, a consummate strategist, pressed steadily onwards against the brave

Death of Sir Philip Sidney, 1586. Dutch. Elizabeth became alarmed. She seriously encouraged the hope that she would marry the French prince, the Duke of Alençon. She put him at the head

of a body of troops to reinforce the Dutch; but the enterprise was a miserable fiasco, and Alençon was expelled ignominiously by the Dutch themselves. Parma's progress continued. In 1584 William of Orange was murdered by a Catholic fanatic. In 1586 Elizabeth sent further help, and placed her favourite courtier Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at its head. He was attractive; and were she swayed less by political contingencies and love of power than by affection, Elizabeth would probably have married him. But as a soldier Leicester was worthless and utterly incompetent for such an enterprise. Consequently the Dutch received little relief; and during the campaign Sir Philip Sidney was killed near Zutphen. He was a soldier, courtier, statesman, the author of "Arcadia," and one of the most brilliant men of his time. Before the end of the year Leicester returned discomfited.

The affairs of the Netherlands, then, were the second important source of friction between England and Spain. The third, and not the least significant, related to the rivalry between the two nations in maritime enterprise.

Spanish America.

Since the days of Columbus a vast Spanish dominion had been built up in the New World, embracing the West Indies and the mainland from Mexico to Peru. As yet the English had not entered into competition with the Spaniards in this oversea enterprise. Rich mines were discovered, and the Spanish Main, i.e. the northern part of South America, on account of its fabulous wealth became known as *El Dorado*, the land of gold. Philip of Spain thus became the richest monarch in Europe. As hostility between Catholic Spain and Protestant England grew, conflicts between the sailors of the two countries became frequent in home waters, and Spanish galleons loaded with precious metals from the New World fell an easy prey to daring English seamen.

Soon Englishmen discovered that they were more intrepid than their rivals and could manage their ships more skilfully. To plunder the Spaniards was a short if dishonest road to wealth. It was a sufficient justification that the Spaniards were the most implacable enemies of their faith. But a Spanish decree, sanctioned by a papal bull, forbade Englishmen to trade with the Spanish-American domains. Yet the Pope's curse was harmless, and Spanish threats of as little avail, especially when British seamanship was triumphant. The most undaunted of the sea-dogs was John Hawkins, who kidnapped negroes on the African coast and sold them to the Spaniards as slaves to work in the colonies. The founder of the negro slave-trade, he accumulated a vast fortune by this cruel and godless traffic. Of greater import at the time was the extent to which the illicit trade irritated the monarch of Spain. More celebrated than Hawkins was his kinsman Francis Drake, one of the many Devonshire worthies of this period. In 1577 he set out from Plymouth, and passing through the Straits of Magellan sailed up the west coast of S. America, everywhere relieving Spanish galleons and coast towns of their treasures. Then crossing the Pacific and Indian Oceans, he rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached home with his vast wealth after a three years' absence. He was the first to sail round the world. Elizabeth visited the hero on his ship, the *Pelican*, and knighted him.

Philip of Spain was furious. He denounced Drake as a pirate, which no doubt he was, and demanded his punishment. Far from consenting, Elizabeth commissioned him and Frobisher for the royal service. In the same year

**Hawkins
and Drake.**

**Philip pre-
pares his
Invasion.**

as the fatal engagement at Zutphen, 1586, Drake made a raid on the Spanish harbour of Vigo, destroyed the ships and sacked the town. Crossing the Atlantic, he destroyed San Domingo and Cartagena, loaded his ships with spoils and returned home. In the following year Mary Queen of Scots was put to death, and Philip had now no reasonable grounds for delaying his invasion. The next heir to the English throne was James VI of Scotland; but he was a Protestant, and according to Philip's theory no Protestant could reign. He therefore claimed the throne himself as a descendant of Edward III through John of Gaunt.

Philip's intention was to set sail in the summer of 1587. His dockyards were busy, ships congregated and stores accumulated.

Drake sails into Cadiz Harbour. His vast preparations were progressing favourably when Drake made an unexpected attack on Cadiz harbour. Such ships as he found there were wrecked; he seized their stores; and having as he termed it "singed the King of Spain's beard," returned to England. He had made it impossible for the Armada to sail that year.

Early in 1588 the "Invincible Armada" was ready for sea, with the Duke of Medina Sidonia in command. Philip's plan was

Philip's Plan. to sail up the Channel with a huge fleet carrying on board a powerful army. At one of the ports of the Netherlands the Duke of Parma with his veterans, reputed to be the finest soldiers in Europe, were to be taken on board or escorted across to England, where the chief fighting was to be done. His ships were cumbrous and unwieldy. Nevertheless this was not a disadvantage in the eyes of the Spaniards, for their method of naval warfare was to grapple the enemy's ship and overwhelm it with their soldiers. It was for England to prove to the world that such tactics were obsolete. The Armada started from Lisbon on its fateful career in May. Gales and rough seas compelled it to put back to port in the north of Spain. In July it entered the Channel.

The English fleet was lying at Plymouth with the exception of a small squadron on the east coast watching the movements of Parma,

English Tactics. who was encamped at Dunkirk. The ships of the royal navy were few, and most of the vessels were privately owned. They were of a lighter and swifter type than those of Spain. They were better equipped and their artillery more efficient. They could fire three shots to one from a Spanish gun. They were built on more scientific lines, and adapted

to rapid manœuvring. They never grappled, but poured deadly volleys from their broadsides, retiring quickly when in danger. Add to this superior British seamanship, and Drake and his fellow captains were confident, from their experience in the Spanish-American seas, that in a sea fight the Spanish hulks were at their mercy. Therefore when the Armada hove in sight on July 19, they were in no way perturbed, and allowed it to pass on. Lord Howard of Effingham was in command; but with him were Drake, Hawkins and Martin Frobisher, names already famous in maritime adventure.

For six days the Armada made its way slowly up the Channel, in the shape of a half-moon. There were a few engagements, but the English avoided close quarters and contented themselves with cutting off stragglers. When the Armada cast anchor off Calais, on July 27, they had already suffered much material damage, while the English not only were unscathed but had gained considerably in confidence. Fireships were now sent amongst the Spaniards, who were forced to cut their moorings. When they took to the open sea they were already in a state of panic, their battle formation being broken and a strong gale blowing. This was the Englishmen's opportunity. On July 29, off Gravelines, a general engagement took place, in which the Spaniards, though they fought with desperate valour, lost a large part of their fleet. Their only course now was to take the perilous journey round Scotland, defying tempests and rugged coasts. English artillery had done its part; storms did the rest. The coasts of Scotland were strewn with wreckage and corpses. Yet, to have returned to Spain with half the fleet, though crippled and shattered, was no small achievement. Spain was by no means crushed.

The results of this brilliant victory were far reaching. Roman Catholicism received a rude shock. Her chosen champion had been humbled by the youthful champion of Protestantism.

Results. Youthful, for it was now that England became a first-class European power. The Jesuits were checked. Elizabeth had no more to fear for her life, her throne, or her national Church. It was a national triumph; for Protestants and Catholics in England had united to conquer. Much as English Catholics would have preferred Mary Queen of Scots to Elizabeth, when Mary had passed away they could take no pride in the prospect of their country becoming a dependency of Philip of Spain. English seamen became

more daring and venturesome, and soon Spanish trade and settlements began to pass into their hands. Lastly, the independence of the Dutch Republic was secured.

The war was not at an end. Popular clamour demanded the utter annihilation of the Spanish fleet. Elizabeth and Burghley were more cautious; for Spain might yet be required as a counterpoise against the pretensions of France. However, in 1589, Drake set out with an expedition to set Portugal free from Spanish domination. The venture ended miserably, and Drake, undeservedly, fell into disrepute.

In 1591 Lord Thomas Howard led an expedition to the Azores and was forced to retreat. Indeed, the fleet would probably have been destroyed but for the daring of William Myddleton of Denbighshire who was in command of part of the fleet, and at great risk ascertained the overwhelming strength of the Spaniards.

One of the ships, the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, got separated from the main squadron and tried to cut its way through the whole Spanish fleet. The task was impossible. After a fifteen hours' fight in which several of the enemy's ships were sunk, Grenville, wounded, and having lost most of his men, was forced to surrender. His desperate courage stands high among the deeds of heroism of British seamen.

A few years later a fleet under the command of Lord Howard and the Earl of Essex made a damaging onslaught on the harbour of Cadiz. Several Spanish warships were sunk; others

Expedition to Cadiz, 1596. were looted, and the town itself was captured and sacked. For his prowess in this expedition Sir Gelly Meyrick of North Wales was knighted in the market-place immediately after the town had surrendered. After these events the war languished, and in 1598 Philip II of Spain died. He had failed to bend England to his will. The Dutch proved too stubborn an enemy for his brilliant generals. And in France, in spite of his help to the Guises and the Catholics, a Protestant, Henry IV (of Navarre) came to the throne, who owed his success partly to the assistance he and the Huguenots received from Elizabeth. To conciliate the Catholics he adopted their religion, and retained the loyalty of the Huguenots by granting them toleration.

Towards the end of the reign there existed much dissatisfaction at home. The causes were (1) religious, (2) parliamentary. Of

Elizabeth's archbishops the first, Matthew Parker, as we have seen, carried out the Queen's compromising "middle way" between Puritan and Catholic. His successor, (i) **Religious.** Grindal, exhibited too much favour to the Puritans to please the Queen, and was superseded by Whitgift, an inexorable defender of Elizabeth's Established Church. Narrow and intolerant towards Dissenters and Catholics, he interpreted non-compliance with his religious views as disloyalty and treason. The prisons were full of Catholic recusants; the Puritans were expelled from their livings; and the Court of High Commission supplied numerous victims for the rope and knife of the executioner. The Nonconformists were enraged, and failed to see why loyalty to the throne could not be reconciled with religious freedom. In revenge there issued from **Martin** a private press a series of scathing pamphlets on the **Marpelate** bishops and the episcopal system. They were called **Tracts, 1587.** the Martin Marpelate Tracts. The Nonconformists continued to worship in secret meetings or "conventicles," and in 1593 a severe Act was passed threatening those who frequented such meetings with the death penalty. Many suffered, John Penry amongst them.

Towards the end of the reign Elizabeth came into conflict also with her Parliament. Now that the danger from Spain was past members became more assertive, and the absolutism which the Tudors had enjoyed was imperilled. They resented Whitgift's uncompromising severity towards Nonconformists, and they protested against the Queen's method of rewarding her favourites by granting monopolies; i.e. the sole right to sell an article, so that the person to whom the monopoly was given could raise the price of the article at will and make enormous profits. This mode of lavishing wealth upon worthless courtiers had been so far indulged in that the commonest articles, such as salt, were in the hands of monopolists. Elizabeth rarely summoned Parliament. She was therefore compelled to be thrifty, and to reward her friends by extraordinary means. The members, more Puritan in religion, and becoming increasingly aggressive, remonstrated against monopolies, and Elizabeth tactfully gave way. But her power was based on harmony between herself and her people: and relying on this popularity she could often defy Parliament. When she compromised, as on the question of monopolies, she did it without abating her

authority. Her subjects were enthusiastically devoted to her, and believed that what she did was the best.

Lord Burghley, the greatest minister of the reign, and one of the shrewdest statesmen that ever gave counsel to a sovereign, died in 1598. He was followed in the confidence of the Queen by his son Robert Cecil, as keen and astute as his father. He had a strong rival in Sir Walter Raleigh, who was less cautious than he was able, and one of the venturesome Devonshire characters who made the reign illustrious. He had dreamt of transforming North America into a new enterprising England a colony of farmers and merchants. With this object he made three attempts between 1585 and 1590. His efforts to settle colonists in Virginia in 1585 were temporarily successful. Unfortunately he was more concerned with ousting the Cecils from supremacy at Court than in personally directing the execution of his brilliant design. Raleigh wanted a more vigorous policy against Spain. Cecil opposed it, and triumphed. Another more violent rival of Cecil was the Earl of Essex, the fond favourite of the Queen. Ireland destroyed his reputation.

Ruled by the chiefs of the clans that country was still in a very unsettled state. Mary's Irish Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, with callous indifference to the native Irish, ventured on a policy of wholesale confiscations. Lands were bestowed on English settlers; English law took the place of Irish or Brehon custom; and the districts thus settled became King's County and Queen's County. In Ireland, as in Wales in earlier days, the land belonged to the people and not to the chiefs. There was thus widespread dissatisfaction.

Disinclined as she was, for reasons of thrift, to expend much on the precarious task of reducing Ireland, circumstances forced her to take energetic measures. The chief Irish clan or sept were the O'Neills of Ulster; and the fiercest and most capable of the family was Shane O'Neill, son of that O'Neill whom Henry VIII had made Earl of Tyrone. He deprecated any alliance with the English, and in 1561 won a victory over the deputy Sussex. He came to London, and Elizabeth discreetly acknowledged him as ruler of Tyrone. His vigorous policy made him undisputed master of the north of Ireland. In 1567 Sir Henry Sidney was sent against him, and in the same year Shane was murdered. Ulster then

Cecil and Raleigh.

Ireland (i) under Mary.

(ii) under Elizabeth.

Shane O'Neill.

came within the English Pale, and the English shire system was introduced through the efforts mainly of Sidney and the Earl of Essex.

Hitherto the encroachments of the English were the cause of dissension. There now arose a religious difficulty, for Ireland was awakening to the significance of the Reformation. The Irish were Catholics. The English settlers in Ireland were also Catholic. Upon these Elizabeth tried to force her own Established Church. They resented it. English Catholics took refuge there; and the popish agents of Spain tried to use it as a point from which England could be attacked. The country seethed with religious strife, and the Jesuits secretly stirred up a widespread revolt. It broke out in Munster, and was headed by the Earl of Desmond. A Spanish force landed to give assistance, and was annihilated by the Irish Deputy, Lord Grey. The rebellion was put down with ruthless cruelty, and in 1583 Desmond was slain. The lands of the rebellious clans having been forfeited, Munster was handed over to English landlords.

There now stood out two main causes of hostility between the English and Irish. Firstly, an English landlord class was imposed upon an Irish peasantry. Secondly, the Irish remained Catholic, whereas the English settlers became for the most part Protestant. During the next few years the governor of Ireland was Sir John Perrot, a native of Pembrokeshire, who was appointed Lord Deputy in 1583. He showed the highest administrative ability in dealing with the intractable Irish, making himself personally acquainted with the state of the country by visiting every province. His measures were too vigorous to please his enemies; and having been recalled in 1588, he came to Carew Castle. The English governors who followed him succeeded in provoking another rising in which the rival Irish clans united; the train of insurrection was carefully laid **Rising of** by Catholic priests, and in 1598 **Hugh O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, a nephew of Shane, found himself at the head of a formidable rising which embraced the greater part of Ireland. Spain sent ammunition and stores. For the moment O'Neill carried all before him. The Earl of Essex, who had disparaged the efforts of others in Ireland, was given the command in 1599, and went across with exceptional powers. He suspected his rivals at court of utilising his absence to undermine his influence with

the Queen; and it is believed that he hoped to use the troops under his command to overawe Cecil. Instead of crushing O'Neill he made terms with him, neglected the orders sent from England, left Ireland without leave, and threw himself on the Queen's mercy. He was imprisoned but soon afterwards released. He then tried

to rouse the Londoners to revolt on the ground that Cecil was making England subservient to Spain. It was now impossible to spare his life. Accordingly, having been tried and condemned, he was put to death in 1601. With him perished Sir Gelly Meyrick for having defended Essex's house in the Strand against the royal troops.

Meanwhile the task of quelling the Irish rising was entrusted to Lord Mountjoy. His progress was steady against tremendous odds.

In 1601 a Spanish force landed and was forced to capitulate. Two years later O'Neill submitted, and the conquest of Ireland was for the first time achieved.

But the avarice, ruthlessness and cruelty of the English left unhappy memories, and implacable racial hatred which was destined to bear bitter fruit.

On March 24, 1603, Elizabeth died, in her seventieth year. She was so tenacious of power that she could not bear to hear mentioned

the question of the succession. However, it was generally thought that James VI of Scotland would succeed her, and Cecil with characteristic astuteness had been already ensuring his own predominance with the Stuart.

The reign of Elizabeth saw the first systematic attempt on the part of the state to relieve the poor. The destruction of the monas-

teries had swept away one source of succour to the poor. The enclosures made it more difficult for the poor peasant to earn his living. The abolition of

maintenance sent hundreds of retainers to swell the number of vagabonds who traversed the country. To relieve the misery Parliament ordered collections to be made on Sundays in the churches. This proved inadequate. Voluntary efforts having failed, a compulsory system was introduced by Parliament in the form of the famous Poor Law Act of 1601. By this act overseers of the poor were appointed by the justices in every parish. Such overseers were empowered to levy a rate on the inhabitants, and the sums thus collected were devoted to relieve the poor and needy. The system remained in force with few changes till 1834.

CHIEF DATES.

Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity	1559
Parker becomes Archbishop	1559
Mary Queen of Scots returns to Scotland	1561
Rebellion of Shane O'Neill	1558-1567
Mary Queen of Scots comes to England	1568
Elizabeth excommunicated	1570
Grindal becomes Archbishop	1575
Jesuit invasion	1580
Whitgift succeeds Grindal	1583
Breach with Spain	1584
Execution of Mary Queen of Scots	1587
The Armada defeated	1588
Severe Penal Laws against Puritans and Catholics	1593
Hugh O'Neill's Rebellion	1598-1603
East India Company founded	1600
Ireland subdued	1603

NOTES.

1. Why the Spanish invasion was so long delayed.
 - (i) Philip had hoped to be able to crush all opposition in the Netherlands before attacking Elizabeth. Meanwhile he could compass her overthrow by insidious plots and Jesuit intrigues.
 - (ii) While Mary Queen of Scots lived, he was influenced by the consideration that the overthrow of Elizabeth and the accession of Mary, though a Catholic, might strengthen the Anglo-French alliance, which Philip did not desire. With her death this consideration vanished.
 - (iii) Elizabeth and Cecil continued to hope that Spain would come to an understanding. England gained by delay; for every year the country, which was in a sad state of exhaustion when Elizabeth came to the throne (see text), was getting stronger, its people more confident, and Elizabeth's religious settlement more acceptable. On the other hand, the drain of Spanish activity and resources in the hopeless task of reducing the Dutch weakened Spain and undermined its prestige.
2. Causes of the Spanish Invasion.
 - (i) Elizabeth was the champion of Protestantism, just as Philip was of Catholicism. She had been excommunicated, and the Pope called on Philip to execute the Bull of Pius V (1570) and dethrone the English Queen.
 - (ii) Assistance given by Elizabeth to the Protestant Netherlands.
 - (iii) Attacks of British seamen on the Spanish-American colonies and on Spanish treasure ships.
 - (iv) Queen Mary, the wife of Philip, had made him her heir. On the death of Mary Queen of Scots he put forward his claim.
3. Chief events in the war with Spain. 1587-1596.

1587. Drake's expedition to Cadiz Harbour, called "singeing the King of Spain's beard."

1588. The Armada.
1589. Drake and Essex burn Vigo. On the whole not successful.
1591. The *Revenge* incident.
1596. Expedition of Lord Howard with Essex, Drake, Hawkins, etc., to Cadiz. Cadiz stormed, and great damage done.
1598. Death of Philip II of Spain.
4. Elizabeth's Religious Settlement.
- (a) She established the Church of England, taking up a broad position between Catholics and Puritans. This settlement was secured by:—
1559. Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.
1563. Thirty-nine Articles.
1565. Parker's Advertisements.
- (b) By means of the Court of High Commission Elizabeth persecuted impartially all who held extreme opinions, viz. :—
- (i) Puritan Separatists or Nonconformists. Hence—
1587. Martin Marprelate Tracts.
1593. Decree against Conventicles.
- (ii) Catholic Recusants. Hence—
- Recusancy or Penal Laws, 1581, following upon the Jesuit Mission, 1580.
- Catholic and Jesuit Plots. Ridolfi (1571); Throgmorton (1583), which led to the Bond of Association (1584). Babington's Plot (1586), resulting in the execution of Mary Queen of Scots.
- Note also the work of the seminary priests from Douai and Rheims.
- (c) Elizabeth's Archbishops in this work : Parker, d. 1575; Grindal, d. 1583; Whitgift, 1583-1604.
- (d) Hence the following were the chief religious parties :—
- (1) Catholics. They would restore Catholicism and papal authority. Also called Papists.
- (2) Protestants—
- (a) Anglicans. They upheld Elizabeth's established church, and episcopacy, or church government by bishops.
- (b) Puritans. These were divided into—
- (i) Presbyterians. They upheld a system of Church government by "Presbyters," and rejected Episcopacy. Their leader was Cartwright, a Cambridge Professor of Divinity.
- (ii) Independents or Congregationalists (also called Brownists and Separatists). They held that each "congregation" should be "independent," and settle its own doctrines and Church government. Founded about 1570 by Browne, a Cambridge man. The Pilgrim Fathers and Cromwell's Ironsides were Independents. The Baptists also were "Independents" in this sense.
5. Elizabeth and Wales.
- Chief points :—
- (i) Catholic sympathies of the Welsh. For the Reformation was associated with the ruin of the monasteries and an attempt

- to destroy Welsh national feeling. Note the many Catholic martyrs in Wales.
- (ii) Connection of the Welshmen with the Seminary at Douai (afterwards moved to Rheims).
 - (iii) John Penry. His work was on behalf of Wales.
 - (iv) The Bible in Welsh.
 - (v) Grammar Schools.
6. English Maritime Enterprise under the Tudors.
- (a) *John Cabot* (see text). Following in his steps enterprising merchants from Bristol secured an interest in the Newfoundland fisheries.
 - (b) *The Company of Merchant Adventurers* pioneered trade with the Baltic and entered into competition with the Germans. In 1553 Richard Chancellor tried to find a N.E. passage to China through the Arctic Ocean. The chief result was to open up trade with Russia and the founding of the *Russia Company*.
 - (c) 1576-7. *Frobisher* sailed to Labrador and Newfoundland, and occupied extensive tracts round Hudson's Bay.
 - (d) *Hawkins* and the Slave Trade.
 - (e) *Drake*.
 - (f) *New Companies*. Such were the Turkey Company (1581) to carry on trade with Turkey; and the East India Company (1600) to trade with India. These companies broke down the monopoly hitherto enjoyed mainly by Spain and Portugal.
 - (g) *Raleigh*. His attempts to colonise Virginia failed.
7. Elizabethan Literature.

The spirit of the Renaissance was slow to show its influence in England. Though its firstfruits are seen in the reign of Henry VIII, it was not until the end of Elizabeth's reign that the revived interest in learning bore its richest fruits. The first evidences are seen in the writings of Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey—both men of note under Henry VIII. In a famous collection of verse known as Tottel's "Miscellany," they first introduced the Italian metres, "sonnet," and "blank" verse. Afterwards, until the year 1579, there is little to indicate the beginning of the most brilliant period in English literature. Spenser ushers in a new era. *The Shepherd's Calendar*, published in 1579, revealed the deepest influence of the Renaissance. In this and the *Faery Queen*, in his wealth of imagery and love of melodious sound, he is the greatest poet of the period.

In prose the use of the Bible translations and the Book of Common Prayer helped to set up a good standard of English. The imitation of the Italian school tended at first towards an affected and extravagant style. Roger Ascham, in the *Schoolmaster*, revolts against the excesses of the writers of the time and advocates a return to a more simple and direct style. Lyly's *Euphues* is the most typical of the pedantic and ornate style common in the books of the time. Throughout the period English prose underwent a process of correction and refinement. The end of Elizabeth's reign witnessed the production of some of the masterpieces of

English prose, notably Richard Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Bacon's *Essays* are remarkable not only for their clearness and conciseness, but as the first exposition of the elementary principles upon which modern science is built.

Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Arcadia* and *Defence of Poetry*, though still showing the strong influence of the Italian models, shows a great advancement towards establishing a simple straightforward style.

But the Drama is the highest and most characteristic form of the literature of this period. Elizabethan writers created an English national drama. The mystery plays which hitherto had fostered the taste of the people for theatrical representation were mere narrations given in a dramatic form, and had nothing in common with the Elizabethan drama.

The first productions were not of a high standard. Marlowe, in his *Tamburlaine the Great*, published in 1586, opened the new chapter in Drama. In this and in *The Jew of Malta* and *Dr. Faustus*, which soon followed, he displays such infinite knowledge, such depth of passion and wonderful dramatic power, as can only be compared with Shakespeare, who soon followed. Elizabethan drama reached its zenith in Shakespeare's masterpieces, such as *The Tempest*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*.

John Penry.

Born 1559 Llangammarch. Brecon.

His proposals 1584 for improvement of Wales.

Imprisonment 1587. as a heretic.

Issue of other pamphlets 1588 on same acc.

Flight to Scotland 1588 but soon returned.
(for treason?)

More imprisonment 1589 finally.

Execution May 25 1593.

Revised. / [unclear]

July 18/1914. Senior C. W. B.

CHAPTER VI

WALES AND THE TUDORS.

AFTER the accession of the Tudors, families of ancient Welsh lineage began to take a more active interest than hitherto in the general politics of England. Such were the Herberts, a famous Monmouthshire family, the Vaughans of Cardiganshire, and others. As a result of this, unhappily, they lost much of that close sympathy with the national life of the Welsh people, which had been one of the noblest characteristics of their ancestors. They are no longer the bountiful patrons of Welsh literature, which had flourished in earlier days because the bard was an indispensable member of the chieftain's hall. The breach between the Welsh lord and the Welsh peasant widens. The former, swayed by an inordinate greed for land, does not scruple to plunder his weaker neighbours; and the legislation of Henry VIII encouraged him in his avarice. On the other hand the Tudor sovereigns, if they had exploited Welsh national sentiment in their endeavour to win a throne, were far from being swayed by any such sentiment in their dealings with the Welsh gentry, or with the ancient laws and customs of Wales. If a Welsh lord fell under suspicion or crossed the path of a Tudor, he could expect nothing but the callous treatment meted out to others; the traditions of centuries, and customs which could be traced to remote antiquity were ruthlessly abolished when they stood in the way of a better system of law and order. The Welsh lord acquiesced, for he profited by it. It was useless for the peasant alone to protest. However, lord and peasant benefited by the strong system of justice which the Tudors established. There was greater security of life and property, and the way was prepared for days of greater prosperity.

The Ordinance of Rhuddlan, 1284, had divided Wales into two

distinct parts, namely, Shire-ground and Marches. The Shires were Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Flint, Carmarthen and Cardigan. These constituted the Divisions of Wales. i. Shires. Principality of Wales, which was administered by the Justice of Wales. Each county had its sheriff, coroners and bailiffs, who were appointed directly or indirectly by the king. Glamorgan and Pembroke had been organised as shires since their first creation, soon after their conquest by the Normans. The law of England was administered, with a few exceptions, the most important of which was that in succession to land the inheritance was divided equally among male heirs. In England land passed undivided to the eldest son by the law of primogeniture.

The other division of Wales, the Marches, had no uniformity of administration such as prevailed in the shires. It comprised a large number of lordships-marcher, in which English and Welsh law existed side by side. The lords-marcher were the representatives either of those Norman barons who had conquered the country by their own swords, or of the Welsh lords who, at an early date, had consented to hold their lands as tenants-in-chief of the Crown. Here the only authority recognised was that of the immediate lord, whose privileges were extensive and largely undefined. He had his own seal, courts and chancery. He was the fountain of justice, for he made his own laws, and only in exceptional cases could the king's officers interfere. He had the right to constitute boroughs by granting charters; he could tax at will; all officials were appointed and could be dismissed by him. In short, within his lordship he had practically the rights of a king.

It followed that this part of Wales was in a deplorable state of disorder. The lordships were often the haunts of brigands whom the lord hired to fight out his private feuds or plunder his neighbours. Life and property were in perpetual danger, for criminals could not be apprehended in one lordship for crimes committed in another. Murders, burnings, and private wars were frequent, especially in the wild regions of the upper Severn. The greatest sufferers were the smaller Welsh tenants, who were daily liable to be set upon by a band of ruffians, or to be oppressed by the heartless officials and garrisons of a neighbouring castle. The Marches were the most lawless part of the country, the grievances of the people here being far worse

State of the Marches.

than those of the Welsh in the Principality, where the chief complaint was the brutal conduct of exacting royal officials.

In consequence of this lawlessness there had been frequent complaints and petitions to Parliament. In 1442 and again in

1444 the people of the border counties petitioned for more stringent measures to deal with robbers.

Complaints in Parliament.

In 1449 a similar petition was presented by the shires and royal lordships in Wales. In 1461 the inhabitants of North Wales complained of the venality and rapacity of the sheriffs and other royal officials there, asserting that the administration of justice was a mockery. The very prosperity of Welshmen was made a cause of complaint; and in 1447 the laws against their acquiring franchises or carrying on lawful trade were made more stringent; while at the same time the bonds of villeinage were made more galling. No one was better acquainted with the state of the Marches than the Yorkist Edward IV, who had inherited the vast Mortimer estates. To him we owe the first effort to deal with the disorder. In 1473-4 he sent the Queen and the Prince of Wales, with a number of Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Judges, to the Marches to inquire into misdemeanours and devise remedies. This commission sat at Hereford. Out of it, apparently, developed the Court of the Council of Wales and the Marches, which was established in 1478.

The chief aim of Henry VII was to establish order, good government, and a uniform system of law. In Wales, as in England,

The Council of Wales and the Marches, 1478-1689.

his most powerful instrument was the Star Chamber, a court which ruthlessly suppressed the powerful lords whose private feuds caused so much misery and ruin in the Marches. The immense services of Rhys ab Thomas to the Tudors did not prevent the court dealing in summary fashion with Rhys's grandson, in 1531. Another instrument of Tudor policy in Wales was the Court of the President and Council of Wales and the Marches already mentioned. Its chief members were the Lord President, the Chief Justice of Chester, the Chief Justice of Wales, and any others whom the Lord President might choose to nominate. Its seat was at Ludlow. Its jurisdiction extended over the Principality, the Marches, the border counties of Shropshire, Worcester, Hereford and Gloucester; and also over Bristol, that city being included in order to be able to deal with felons who escaped across the Severn. Its methods

were arbitrary; the accused were tried in secret, and had no power of defending themselves in criminal actions. Its functions were comprehensive, so that it could deal with all breaches of the law and disputes as to land. In particular it checked the avarice of those powerful landlords who were so eager to seize the lands of their weaker neighbours. And yet the cost of litigation was so great that a poor suitor often preferred to lose his land than incur the expenses of submitting his case to the court. It suppressed riots, the keeping of retainers, and the misconduct of sheriffs.

The establishment of this Court, then, practically sums up the work of Henry VII on behalf of Wales. It set up a more efficient

Work of Henry VII. system of justice and inaugurates a new period in the history of Wales. But Henry VII was too much engrossed in the general affairs of his kingdom, and

his reign was too short to enable him to give special attention to the land of his birth. Moreover, the first Presidents of the Court, though able enough, were inactive. Murders and robberies continued; and the poorer tenants did not find adequate redress.

It was not till the time of Thomas Cromwell, the unscrupulous minister of Henry VIII, that the Court became really effective.

The Court under Henry VIII. During the years 1534-1543 Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield, was President. He seems to have taken the keenest delight in imitating the almost brutal

severity of his master Cromwell. He tracked out felons with extraordinary pertinacity, and hanged them on market days the

Rowland Lee and Thomas Cromwell. better to terrorise the country-side. Under his régime several Acts were passed, making the work of criminals more difficult and dangerous. Jurors

were to be punished for giving wrongful verdicts; ferrying across the Severn at night was made illegal; the people of Wales were prohibited to congregate unless in the presence of an official of the lordship. *Cymmorthau* were abolished. This was an old Welsh custom which meant, originally, a contribution in money, kind, or labour to assist one in need. In the time of the Tudors it meant an exaction from the people, and was a powerful instrument of oppression in the hands of unscrupulous lords-marcher. The rights of these lords were further restricted by Cromwell by another measure which allowed an appeal from their courts to the Court of Wales. These Acts were passed in 1534-5. Another measure passed in Lee's time was the great Act of Union, 1535. To this

we shall return. When Lee gave up the Presidency not only was Wales comparatively free from evildoers, but the country had become one with England.

On account of the thoroughness of Lee's work, and of the changes wrought by the Act of Union and the Great Sessions, the work of the Court becomes less interesting than the personality of its Presidents. The sixth on record was the Earl of Northumberland, Edward VI's minister. He was followed in 1550 by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who played such a distinguished part in the general affairs of the country. In 1560 Sir Henry Sidney, father of the famous Sir Philip Sidney, became president. His daughter Mary married Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who also became a president of the Court. Sir Henry Sidney's administration, as well as that of his son, was conciliatory and incorruptible. His chief task was to adjust the many difficulties which arose in Wales on the introduction of primogeniture. The Court was abolished in 1689, by which time it had declined considerably in importance.

The most important piece of Tudor legislation specially affecting Wales was the Act of Union, 1535. It was the work of Thomas Cromwell, who, realising that the Marches were a hotbed of corruption, gave constant attention to that infested district. We have already considered

The Act of Union, 1535. his preliminary measures (1534-5), in addition to which may be mentioned the creation of Justices of the Peace for the Welsh counties already in existence (1535). Then followed the Act of Union, "one of the most epoch-making statutes in the history of Wales." Its full title is "An Act for Laws and Justice to be ministered in Wales in like form as it is in this Realm." The changes brought about by this Act were rendered less difficult of accomplishment by the fact that most of the lordships-marcher had fallen to the Crown either by inheritance or confiscation. Its most important provisions were as follows:—

Firstly, Wales was united and annexed to the realm of England, so that persons born in Wales were henceforth to enjoy all the rights and privileges of Englishmen. This provision did away with the obnoxious laws which were passed against Welshmen at various times during the fifteenth century, and until now remained on the statute book.

Its Chief Provisions :
1. **Wales.**

Secondly, the Marches of Wales became shire-ground; in con-

sequence of which five new counties were created, namely, Monmouthshire, Brecknockshire, Radnorshire, Montgomeryshire and Denbighshire. Moreover, most of the eight existing Welsh counties received considerable additions by having added to them several of the adjacent lordships-marcher. A few lordships became part of the English border counties. Monmouthshire was made part of England. Seven years later the new counties were divided into hundreds. This part of the Act, therefore, completed the work begun by Edward I in 1284.

Thirdly, henceforth Wales was to have the same uniform system of law that prevailed in England. It followed that the confused and heterogeneous customs of the lordships-marcher were supplanted, and the lords deprived of most of their privileges. The most far-reaching change under this head pertained to the tenure of land. The Welsh law of gavelkind, by which lands were divided equally among male heirs, was in effect abolished in favour of the English custom of primogeniture. The resentment of the people found vent in a fruitless petition to Parliament in 1558.

Fourthly, English was henceforth to be the official language in Wales. The new officials which the shire system created, viz., sheriffs, justices, coroners and bailiffs, were to transact their business in the English language. All oaths were to be taken in that tongue. Moreover, "no person or persons that use the Welsh language shall have any kind of office within this realm of England, Wales, or other the king's dominion upon pain of forfeiting the same, unless he or they use the English language."

Fifthly, Wales was to be represented in the English Parliament, each shire by one knight, and each shire-town by one burgess—except the shire-town of Merioneth, which for purposes of representation was merged with the county. Monmouthshire was represented by two knights for the county and one burgess for the county-town, Monmouth. In 1542 Haverfordwest was made into a separate county and given one representative. There were thus twenty-four members from Wales, apart from Monmouthshire. It is uncertain when representatives were first summoned from Wales, though it was probably in 1322. It is, however, known that twenty-four

5. Parliamentary Representation.

members represented North Wales in 1326-7. The next change in the representation of this country after 1542 came with the Reform Act of 1832.

Wales benefited from the Act of Union in that henceforth Welshmen received all the political advantages enjoyed by Englishmen.

Results. The substitution of an efficient administrative system for the uncertain law of the Marches made it easier to bring criminals to justice. The distinction between Principality and Marches disappeared. Welshmen were given a voice in Parliament; hitherto they had been subject to all the obligations without receiving the privileges of Englishmen. The change brought many hardships: the introduction of primogeniture resulted in considerable litigation; and the Welsh language was suppressed, in consequence of which the Welsh gentry gradually became English in speech and sympathies, although the peasantry adhered to their language and national customs.

In one important respect Wales still remained separate from England. This was in judicial matters. Partly on account of the distinct nature of cases arising in Wales, partly on account of the difficulties attending a journey from remote parts of Wales to London, Henry VIII gave Wales itself High Courts of Justice. The Courts were known as the "King's Great Sessions in Wales," and were constituted by Act of Parliament in 1542-3. For the purpose of this Court the twelve Welsh counties were grouped into four circuits: namely, Carnarvonshire, Merionethshire and Anglesey, in which the Justice of North Wales was to keep the Sessions; Flintshire, Denbighshire, and Montgomeryshire, in which the Sessions were to be kept by the Justice of Chester; Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, and Glamorganshire formed the third circuit; and the remaining counties of Cardigan, Carmarthen and Pembroke formed the fourth circuit. In the two latter circuits the Justices were to be appointed by the king. The Court of Great Sessions was to be held twice a year in each of the twelve counties, and should last six days. The Act also arranged for the appointment of (i) Justices of the Peace, who were to hold Quarter Sessions every three months; (ii) Sheriffs, who were to be chosen annually by the king out of three nominated by the President, Council and Justices of Wales; (iii) other minor officers, such as two coroners for each shire and two constables for each hundred. The duty of the Coroner was to inquire into cases

of violent death. The Sheriff should hold his court every month.

The Act gave Wales a complete judicial system similar to that which existed in England, the duties of sheriff, justices of the peace and coroners being similar in the two countries.

Results.

The Courts of Great Sessions enjoyed civil and criminal jurisdiction as extensive and varied as that of the English Court of King's Bench (which tried cases in which the king was concerned), and the Court of Common Pleas (which tried cases between subjects). The new courts created a demand for Welsh lawyers, and the scions of the great Welsh houses went to the ancient Universities in increasing numbers. But many years were to elapse before the national claims of Wales were fully recognised with respect to judicial appointments. The most substantial immediate advantage was the benefit it conferred upon Welsh suitors by enabling them to obtain justice without incurring the cost of a journey to London, where they often had to remain several weeks before their cases came on for trial.

The Courts of Great Sessions were abolished in 1830 by the Duke of Wellington's Ministry, in spite of the ardent protests of some patriotic Welsh members of Parliament, notably **Its End, 1830.** John Jones, the member for Carmarthen. He urged the retention of the Courts on the grounds of the distinct national claims of Wales, and of the great expense in which their abolition would involve Welsh suitors. However, the English Parliament had little knowledge of Wales in those days and less sympathy with its needs; and it was not until the upheaval of 1868 that Welsh members of Parliament began to advocate the claims of Wales to separate treatment. After the abolition of the Great Sessions Wales was divided into two circuits, the North Wales circuit and the South Wales circuit, in each of which judges from the English High Courts of Justice began to hold the Assizes as in the English circuits.

The Reformation in Wales was part of the general movement in England. During the fifteenth century there had been numerous

The Church in Wales.

appointments to Welsh sees by papal provision, the bishops being generally non-resident Englishmen. Bishop Bulkeley of Bangor (1541-1552) was the first for more than a century who resided in his diocese; while Hugh Jones, who was preferred to Llandaff in 1567, was the first

Welsh bishop of that see for about three hundred years. Consequently, the higher clergy in Wales had little influence on the religious life of the people. The parish clergy, on the other hand, though thoroughly Welsh in sentiment, were badly educated, and so corrupt that in the reign of Henry VII the people of Carnarvon were constrained to petition the Government to reform the abuses. The people, therefore, continued to harbour their fond superstitions and to indulge in the revelries associated with the worship of their idolatrous images. Of these the image of "Mary and the Wax-candle" was an object of great reverence in the diocese of St. David's, while that of "Dervel the Mighty" of Edeyrnion in North Wales, was worshipped extensively in that mountainous district. For an offering he would save a man from eternal damnation. Tradition says that at Easter the common people flocked from all parts to Llanddervel, near Bala, to ride on Dervel's horse.

Though the monasteries were centres of charity and education, monastic life had long since been in a state of decay. Yet the monks owned vast estates. In 1522 Henry VIII called upon Valle Crucis, Basingwerk, Strata Florida and Aberconway to contribute towards his French expedition. In 1535 Thomas Cromwell sent a Commission of four, including Sir John Price of Brecon, to inspect the Welsh houses, none of which had an income of more than £200 a year. They therefore perished in 1536. The monks were scattered; their lands were appropriated by neighbouring landlords or alienated to English institutions; the people lost many of their places of worship, while the relics, images, and valuable plate were seized.

Cromwell's chief agent in Wales in this unholy work of robbing and desecrating monasteries was the profane Bishop Barlow of St. David's. Through the favour of Anne Boleyn he had been prior of Haverfordwest before he became bishop of the diocese in 1536. Although in the previous year he had written to Cromwell lamenting the superstition which prevailed in west Wales, when he became head of the see he thought less of spreading the light of the Reformation than of enriching himself and his relatives. The opposition he met with from the clergy was furious, and his chapter denounced him to the Council of Wales as a heretic. For thirteen years (1536-1549) he warred incessantly against the Catholic beliefs of

**The Welsh
Monasteries
dissolved,
1536.**

**Bishop
Barlow of
St. David's,
1536-1549.**

the Welsh, but without much success. His zeal on behalf of the new religion was tainted by his greed and his alienation of a rich portion of the lands of the bishopric. He was so enraged at his ill success in remote St. David's that he stripped the roof of the episcopal palace of its lead, so as to make the place uninhabitable; and he transferred the bishop's residence to Abergwili, near Carmarthen. But his attempt to make that town the seat of the bishopric, instead of St. David's, failed. Some of the wealth of the suppressed monasteries was applied to the foundation of Christ's College, Brecon.

Another of Cromwell's agents was Richard Devereux, Bishop of Dover, who accomplished his task with equal thoroughness and arrogance. In Breconshire the work was delegated to Sir John Price, a native of that county, who had already taken an active part in bringing about the union between England and Wales. When the priory of Brecon was dissolved he did not scruple to appropriate a substantial portion of the lands and tithes. More creditable was his translation into Welsh of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments in 1546. It fell to the lot of Ellis Price, the "Red Doctor," as he was called, to carry out the changes in North Wales. It was he who sent to London the huge image of "Dervel the Mighty." Price was a native of Denbighshire and represented Merioneth in Parliament in the time of Mary and Elizabeth.

The Welsh people acquiesced in the Reformation as the work of the Tudors, whose accession to the throne they had welcomed with pride. If they had wished to rebel, they would have found no leaders among the gentry, to whom in former days they had been accustomed to look for leadership, for the latter had become rich with the spoils of the monasteries. Nevertheless the Welsh welcomed the return to Catholicism under Mary, and had no sympathy with the only three Protestant martyrs which the towns of Wales supplied. The most eminent Welsh prelate of Mary's reign was William Glynn, Bishop of Bangor (1555-8). He was an eminent scholar and became Master of Queen's College, Cambridge. In 1554 he was one of the bishops chosen to dispute with Ridley at Oxford. Mary showed her appreciation by preferring him to the see of Bangor, where he strove earnestly for reform. He held several synods of his clergy in order to charge them with their duties,

**Return to
Catholicism
under
Mary.**

**Cromwell's
Welsh
Agents.**

and deprived the married clergy of their livings. Among the Welshmen who fled the country on Mary's accession was Dr. Richard Davies, then Vicar of Burnham but afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph and translator of the Bible. He took refuge in Geneva, where he spent his term of exile learning foreign languages.

The Welsh landlords accepted Elizabeth's religious settlement as readily as they had acquiesced in Mary's Catholic policy. In sympathies and manners they now become thoroughly anglicised. The breach between lord and peasant which began on the accession of the Tudors and became more pronounced with the Act of Union (1535), widens still more. Whereas the gentry become attached to the Church of England, the Welsh peasantry continue to cherish their old beliefs and superstitions. With them the Reformation was associated with roofless abbeys and grasping landlords, for no effort was made for some time to educate them in the new faith. The lower clergy, still Catholic at heart, indolent, neglected by their spiritual superiors, had been left so poor owing to the alienation of tithes and Church property that they were unable to minister to the needs of their parishioners. The bishopric of Llandaff remained vacant for nearly three years in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, and was so impoverished that no prelate would accept the see. Some of the higher clergy were very unworthy. In 1587 the Bishop of St. Asaph was accused of tolerating the gravest abuses in his diocese. He held sixteen livings. Most of the other livings within his jurisdiction were in the possession of persons who lived outside the diocese, while only three clerics lived in their parishes. In one respect the Reformation brought a significant change: Welsh bishops are appointed more frequently to the Welsh sees. Such were Bishop Davies and Bishop Morgan, translators of the Bible, and several successive Bishops of St. Asaph.

It was in providing for a Welsh Bible that Elizabeth wrought her greatest service to Wales. She realised that the Welsh people could only be enlightened in the doctrines of the Reformation through their own tongue, and in 1563 an Act of Parliament was passed requiring the Bishops of Bangor, St. Asaph, Llandaff, St. David's and Hereford to provide a translation of the Bible into Welsh, and ordaining that a copy of the work should be placed in every church and chapel in Wales by March 1, 1566. But no provision was made in the Act as to

**Results of
the
Reformation.**

**The Welsh
Bible.**

the cost of the undertaking, which for that reason was not carried into effect. It was left to the private enterprise of William Salesbury, a great linguist and one of the most competent scholars of his time, and of Dr. Richard Davies, to undertake the work. Salesbury was a native of Llanrwst in Denbighshire, and was educated at Oxford, after which he studied law at Lincoln's Inn. He wrote several works in Welsh. His Protestantism was so obnoxious to Queen Mary that in his house a small room was made for his concealment, which could only be reached by climbing inside the chimney. His version of the New Testament appeared in 1567. Dr. Richard Davies, who assisted Salesbury, had been restored to his preferments on the accession of Elizabeth, and became successively Bishop of St. Asaph (1560) and of St. David's (1561). Davies assisted also in the translation of the English Bible known as Parker's Bible. Thomas Huet, Precentor of St. David's, translated part of the work. Their translation was the basis for the better version of Bishops Morgan and Parry. We have already seen that in 1546 Dr. Price translated the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed into Welsh.

It was not until 1588, the year of the Armada, that the first translation of the whole Bible appeared. This was the work mainly of Dr. William Morgan, who became successively Bishop of Llandaff (1595) and of St. Asaph (1601). He was encouraged by Archbishop Whitgift, without whose assistance, Morgan confesses, he would have abandoned the task. He was born in the parish of Penmachno, in Carnarvonshire, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. It was while he was vicar of Llanrhaiadr, Denbighshire, that he completed his immortal work, in silent seclusion at the time when beacons of war, announcing the approach of the Armada, blazed on the hill-tops. His language and style are more attractive than those of Salesbury, and a revised version of his Bible which appeared in 1620—the work of Bishop Parry of St. Asaph—is still the authorised version. He was in high favour with Queen Elizabeth, to whom his later preferments were due. The Bibles were not issued in large numbers, for there were scarcely enough to supply the cathedrals and churches. Nor were the people generally able to profit from them, for they were totally apathetic to the new faith with which the translations were associated:

**William
Salesbury.**

**Bishop
Morgan.**

Results.

nevertheless by the appearance of the Welsh Bible an immense service was rendered to the cause of religion, as well as to the language and literature of Wales. It marks an important era in the history of modern Wales, and forms the starting point of the great religious and educational movements which followed. It was also a triumph over the unreasoning hostility towards the language which characterised the legislation of Henry VIII, and which was still prevalent in the anglicised districts of Wales. The first people's edition of the Welsh Bible was published in 1630, the work chiefly of a London Welshman, Sir Thomas Myddleton.

Tudor statesmen did not show the same consideration for the Welsh in the matter of education. A number of Grammar Schools

**Grammar
Schools.**

were founded: such were Brecon, Abergavenny (1543), Bangor (1557), Presteign (1565), Carmarthen (1576), and Cowbridge, founded by Elizabeth. These were endowed with a portion of the wealth of the Church in Wales alienated at the Reformation, and being founded in connection with the Church of England, served as nurseries of the Establishment. But they were situated in the towns, which, though gradually losing their exclusively English character, had for centuries been the harsh and stubborn opponents of every phase of Welsh national feeling. The schools were therefore English in sympathy, though in the case of Ruthin, founded in 1595 by Dean Goodman of Westminster, the friend of Bishop Morgan, provision was made for the teaching of Welsh. They soon became the monopoly of the wealthier classes, though at first intended for the poorer. The cleavage between the Welsh-speaking country districts and the English-speaking towns did not allow of the Welsh deriving much benefit from the new schools. The college was removed from Abergwili to Brecon in 1542, because Carmarthenshire people knew no English. Still the fact that so many Welshmen distinguished themselves in the seventeenth century in every sphere of activity was due in large measure to the education provided in these schools.

A number of them had exhibitions and scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge. A sign of the new educational spirit which animated Welshmen was the founding of Jesus College, Oxford, by Dr. Hugh Price, a native of Brecon. At his request, in 1571 Elizabeth granted a charter of foundation to the new college which Price thereupon richly endowed. The foundation was made with the object of extending to natives

**Jesus
College,
Oxford.**

of Wales educational advantages at Oxford which they had not previously possessed.

In spite of these pacific measures, Elizabeth failed to reconcile the Welsh to her Church and the revolutionary changes which

Welsh preceded its establishment. She could not efface
Catholic the bitter memories left by the Act of Union and
Martyrs. the dissolution of the monasteries. To the time of

the Hanoverians Wales in fact remained the most Catholic part of Britain, so that Catholic plotters against Elizabeth always found ready support among the Welsh, who supplied numerous martyrs and still more numerous agents of the Counter-Reformation. One of the first of these was Richard White, a native of Llanidloes, who after completing his education at Oxford and Cambridge, returned to Wales, where he earned his living as a schoolmaster. He fell under the influence of Welsh Catholic missionaries from Douai, who were then working sedulously to keep the Welsh true to the old faith, and having refused to attend the Church of England,

Richard was thrown into prison at Ruthin. He spent four
White and years in prison before he was finally condemned to
William death in 1584, at Wrexham. The execution was
Davies. carried out under great difficulties, for the Welsh

were violently hostile to the executioners. Similar difficulties attended the martyrdom of William Davies at Beaumaris in 1593. He was one of the Welsh Catholic missionaries from the Continent, and came to Wales in 1585. The executioners, who were imported from England, had to escape secretly as soon as their ghastly work was done, for their own lives were in immediate danger from the common people. No such sympathy was shown towards the three Protestant martyrs of Mary's reign. Three Welshmen were executed in London in 1588. Philip Evans gave up his life for his faith at Cardiff.

But though the mass of the Welsh people were then passively Catholic, the sixteenth century saw the beginning of Welsh Non-

Early Welsh conformity. A century before the family of Rhys
Puritans. Brydydd of Glamorganshire had been persecuted for their Lollardism. About 1548 Thomas Llywelyn,

another Glamorganshire gentleman, ministered secretly to small congregations at Rhugos and Llangyfelach. It is believed that he translated into Welsh portions of Tyndal's Bible for that purpose. These first Welsh Puritans—Baptists and Independents—probably

remained in the Church, and made no attempt, apparently, to rouse their countrymen. The first Welsh Puritan to stir the hearts of men was John Penry.

John Penry was born in 1559 in Llangammarch, Breconshire. When about nineteen years of age he proceeded to Peterhouse College, Cambridge. According to one of his bitterest enemies, he was then as rank a Papist as ever came out of Wales. However, he was already a Puritan when he went from Cambridge to Oxford, where he took his M.A. in 1586, and was ordained a minister of the Established Church. During the next few years he won a great reputation as an eloquent and earnest preacher—"The Welsh harp that enchanted many English hearts." His opinions gradually advanced in the direction of extreme Puritanism, which soon brought him into conflict with the Court of High Commission.

Though there seems to be no proof that Penry preached in Wales, his labours were almost entirely on behalf of his native land. In 1587 he published a treatise humbly petitioning Queen Elizabeth and Parliament, on behalf of Wales, "that some order may be taken for the preaching of the Gospel among those people." Here he shows how the bishops were lax, selfish and arrogant; how the Welsh peasantry suffered spiritually from the antagonism between them and the English clergy; how the majority of the people were still Catholic or indifferent, the minority being members of the Established church. Hardly one in ten understood the Church service. He then proposes his remedies: (1) that the Gospel should be preached in English and Welsh by competent ministers; (2) that Welsh-speaking clergy in English parishes should be sent to Wales; (3) that laymen be allowed to preach if the supply of ordained ministers were not sufficient; (4) He further suggested that a tenth of each living alienated to laymen be taken for the support of the clergy; (5) that every priest should live in his parish, (6) and that it should be legal to maintain a minister by voluntary contributions. But it was his declaration that a minister who did not preach was a true Christian minister that provoked the bitterest hostility. No sooner was his petition presented to Parliament than he was apprehended and imprisoned by Archbishop Whitgift. His work was not sufficiently heretical, and he was released.

John Penry
1559-1593.

His Work
for Wales.

His Proposals.

He was by no means deterred. He issued other pamphlets in 1588 calling upon the Government and the clergy to give attention to the spiritual needs of Wales. He called upon the President of the Council of Wales in vain. To the cold heart of Whitgift Penry's passion was treason. He fled to Scotland in 1590, but soon returned. In 1593 he was once more brought to trial and treated with great cruelty. The judges failed to convict him on his writings. Nevertheless, on May 25, 1593, he was accused of having written against Elizabeth, and executed after a grossly unjust trial. He died a sacrifice to the virulent hostility of the bishops, his great offence being his strong exposure of the abuses of the Anglican Church in Wales, and his daring plans for the evangelisation of his native land.

The reign of Elizabeth saw a legal settlement, according to the principles of English tenure, of the social classes in Wales, for much confusion had arisen through the introduction of primogeniture in 1535. The representatives of the free tribesmen were now recognised as customary

freeholders paying a quit-rent to the Crown. This quit-rent represented the dues paid formerly to the princes, and had been commuted into a fixed money payment since the time of Edward I. The non-tribesmen or strangers were classed as copyholders, and became tenants-at-will. Those who suffered most through these changes were the younger sons of the tribesmen. For whereas under the old system they would have inherited part of the land, under the new law the father's estate would pass to the eldest son, while the younger either became tenants-at-will wherever they could get land, or left to seek fortune in other fields of enterprise.

In Tudor times agriculture was improved; the manufacture of cloth was carried on from the wool of sheep and goats, for Wales was mainly a pastoral country. The chief market-town was Shrewsbury. The mineral resources of

the country were developed, and foreign miners were introduced, to whom some of the lead mines were granted by Elizabeth. Those of Cardiganshire were granted to Sir Hugh Myddleton. In the reign of Charles I a mint was established at Aberystwyth, whence it was removed to Shrewsbury soon after the outbreak of the Civil War. North Wales and Glamorganshire carried on a prosperous coal trade. Commerce, however, suffered considerably from the Moorish and Spanish pirates who infested the coast of South Wales

and whose headquarters were at Cardiff. Copper smelting was established at Swansea in 1583. Neath was famous for its ship-building.

The abundant energy of Welshmen found scope in every sphere of activity, and contributed in no small measure towards making the Tudor period illustrious. Sir Thomas

**Welshmen in
(i) Industry.**

Clough, a native of Denbigh, was one of the greatest merchants of the time, who by his industry amassed an enormous fortune and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. His wealth was so great that "*Efe a aeth yn Glough*" ("he became a Clough") grew into a proverb. The founding of the Royal Exchange in London was largely due to his initiative; and in Wales he founded the free school at Denbigh. Another famous Welshman of the time was Sir Richard Bulkeley of Anglesey, who traded annually with Greenland. The most eminent engineer of his time was Sir Hugh Myddleton of Denbigh, who projected the New River from the springs of Hertfordshire to London in order to supply the metropolis with water. The task, which was begun in 1608, was not completed till 1613, when Myddleton, for his brilliant achievement, was knighted by his Sovereign, James I. He was the first who worked the lead and silver mines of Cardiganshire, though the enormous fortune he made by them "was swallowed up in the river." Richard Myddleton, an elder brother to Sir Hugh, who distinguished himself in the expedition to the Azores (1591), is

**(ii.) The
Netherlands.**

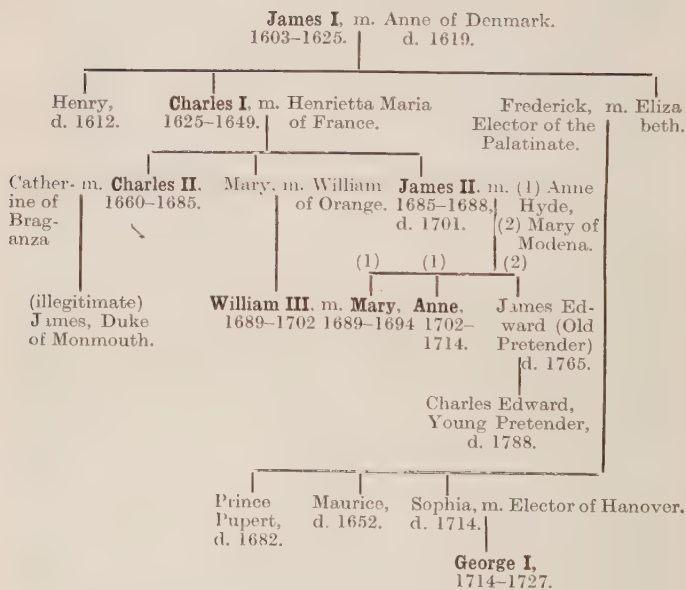
said to have been the first who smoked cigars publicly in London. Sir William Morgan of Monmouthshire helped to establish the Dutch Republic. The Dutch were also assisted by Sir Thomas Morgan, the hero of Bergen op Zoom; by Sir Gelly Meyrick, and Sir Roger Williams of Monmouthshire, who distinguished himself at Zutphen, after which Leicester wrote to Walsingham, "Roger Williams is worth his weight in gold."

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THE STUARTS.



James I (1603-1625)
 Charles I (1625-1649)
 Charles II (1660-1685)
 James II (1685-1688).
 Mary II (1689-1694)
 & William III (1689-1702)
 Anne (1702-1714).
 BOOK VI
 [George I (1714-1727)]
 THE STUARTS. 1603-1714.

CHAPTER I

JAMES I. 1603-1625

Born 1566; married, 1589, Anne of Denmark.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS:—

France. Henry IV (1589-1610).
 Louis XIII (1610-1643).
Spain. Philip III (1598-1621).
 Philip IV (1621-1665).

Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland—Ireland—Character of James I—Main and Bye Plots—Attitude towards the Puritans—Hampton Court Conference—Pilgrim Fathers—Attitude towards the Catholics—Gunpowder Plot—Privilege and Prerogative—Addled Parliament—Dismissal of Coke—Favourites—Foreign Policy—Spanish Marriage—Raleigh—Thirty Years' War—Bacon—Monopolies—Colonisation—French Alliance.

The accession of James I to the throne of England was a happy stroke of fortune, for it brought about the peaceful union of the two crowns by the silent principle of inheritance. It did not imply the complete union of the two kingdoms, which was still a century off. Scotland retained its laws and institutions, as well as its religion. Nevertheless the change was momentous. Henceforth war between the two countries would mean treason on one side or the other, and instead of being hostile as, actively or passively, they had been for several centuries, they would now find it their common interest to act in concert. Also, the way was paved for a more indissoluble union in the future.

James, indeed, perceived the mutual advantages to the two coun-

tries of having the same laws, institutions and religion. But such ideas were not shared by the people on this or on the other side of the Tweed, because England distrusted a Scottish dynasty, and the Scots had a deep-rooted prejudice against English fashions, and resented James's preference for English ways. It was improbable, too, that the robust Presbyterianism of Scotland would submit to the less heroic establishment in England. Complete union was therefore out of the question. But some advance was made; for, by a decision of the judges, all Scots born after James's accession to the English throne became naturalised English subjects. Such subjects were called the *post nati*. In religion also a few changes took place, by no means to the liking of the Presbyterians. In 1610 bishops were introduced into the Scotch Church; and in 1618, by the "Five Articles of Perth" some ceremonies were established, contrary to Presbyterian practice. Such were the confirmation of children by bishops; religious observance of Christmas, Easter, and some other holidays; private baptism and private communion; and kneeling at Holy Communion. To the rigid Calvinist they savoured of Catholicism.

The real conquest of Ireland was accomplished in the last year of Elizabeth's reign. James therefore succeeded to Ireland as well as to England and Scotland. Mountjoy, the hero of the conquest, was followed in 1604 by Sir Arthur Chichester, a man of broad, enlightened views, whose chief purpose was to reconcile the Irish to the new régime by methods of toleration. But the Irishman had two grievances which no blandness or clemency could assuage. The one affected his conscience, the other his livelihood. A Protestant Church had been imposed upon him, a Catholic; and a foreign landlord had seized his land. In 1607 the Earl of Tyrone broke out in revolt and was driven from his country. Chichester would have given the best part of his lands to the Irish, but he was overborne. The Irish received little or nothing; the greater part of Ulster was distributed among English and Scotch colonists. This was the notorious "Plantation of Ulster." The result was twofold. Under the energetic enterprise of the new settlers Ulster became the most prosperous province in Ireland; and being strongly Protestant, it served as a garrison to keep Catholic Ireland in subjection. Secondly, the wrong sank deeply into the conscience and heart of the Irishman,

and embittered the feelings between the two races for centuries. In 1614 Chichester was recalled. His chief fault in the eyes of the English government was his clemency towards the evicted Irish.

James, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, ascended the throne by right of descent from Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. With a fund of good humour, James was not devoid of cunning. His great learning made him conceited, and he probably knew more about foreign countries than how to rule his own. For this reason the French, with caustic wit, called him "the wisest fool in Christendom." He had none of the majesty or dignity of the Tudors. He was vacillating where they were firm; perverse and obstinate where they were tactful. The Tudors had gripped the affections of the people, and on this their power was founded. James failed to see this. Ignorant of the English character, he irritated his new subjects by trying to inculcate his notions on the divine right of kings.

Sir Robert Cecil, created Earl of Salisbury in 1605, remained chief adviser to the Crown until his death in 1612. In foreign policy he was anxious to cultivate the friendship of Spain, and thus continue Elizabeth's later policy. This made him unpopular with those who wished for war. Further, his continued ascendancy may have

inflamed his rivals. Whatever the cause, Lord Cobham set on foot a plot to destroy his influence and place Arabella Stuart on the throne. This was the Main Plot. Cecil acted promptly and suppressed it. Raleigh was accused of being implicated; was condemned for high treason on a grossly unjust charge of having sold himself to the Spaniards; and for the next thirteen years was a prisoner in the Tower.

The Catholics had hoped that James would abolish the penal laws against them. Being disappointed, they conspired to seize him and keep him a prisoner till he did so. This was the Bye Plot. James, in fact, was not disinclined to mitigate their lot. This foolish scheme, however, only ended in a stricter enforcement of the penal laws, while some of the leaders were sent to the scaffold.

On their side the Puritans did not forget that James had been brought up as a Presbyterian, and confidently trusted that he would subscribe to their views regarding ceremonies and vestments. They therefore presented him, on his arrival in England, with the *Millenary Petition*, so

Hampton Court Conference, 1604.

called because it was said to have been signed by a thousand clergymen. To please them he summoned a Conference at Hampton Court, with the nominal object of trying to reconcile the Episcopalians and the Puritans. The Puritans had four representatives; but the bishops were present in large numbers. James presided, and showed violent hostility to any system of Church government which contained no bishops. This was not to be wondered at; for in Scotland he was the tool of the Presbyterian clergy, who believed it their duty to dictate to the Sovereign. In England the monarchy was all powerful, and the bishops its servants. James with his exalted ideas of kingship naturally preferred the English monarchy. He summed up the situation in the adage "no bishop, no king," and protested that "Scottish Presbytery agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the Devil." The only result of the conference was the introduction of a few minor changes into the Prayer-Book, and the issue of a new translation of the Bible, which became the Authorised Version published in 1611.

The Puritans were baffled. In 1604 Whitgift died; but his successor Bancroft, Bishop of London, was even more intolerant. Like James, he believed that bishops were indispensable to the wellbeing of the Church, and insisted on the use of the Prayer-Book in all churches. Some three hundred clergy conscientiously refused, left the Church and joined the Nonconformists. In 1606 and 1608 some of the bravest Nonconformists left their native land for Holland, and in 1620 sailed to the New World in the *Mayflower*. Very significantly Parliament sympathised with them. The dawn of the struggle between King and Parliament was already breaking.

James was not disinclined to tolerate the Catholics, a fact which fostered a somewhat rebellious spirit among the Commons, the majority of whom were Puritans. But the Gunpowder Plot blasted any expectations the Catholics may have had of obtaining toleration. Some of their most ardent enthusiasts, led by Robert Catesby and Guy Fawkes, planned to blow up James and his Government on November 5, 1605, when King, Lords and Commons would be assembled at the opening of Parliament. A cellar was hired beneath the Houses of Parliament and filled with explosives. Fawkes was to set fire to the train, and the Midland Catholics were to arm. Fortunately one of the conspirators sent a letter to a Catholic peer warning him to absent him-

self on that day. The King being advised of this ordered the cellars to be searched. Fawkes was seized among his barrels of gunpowder, ready to put his murderous scheme into execution. He was pitilessly tortured before being hung, drawn and quartered. His accomplices were surrounded at Holbeach House in Staffordshire, and Catesby was slain. This appalling affair cast a veil of suspicion over every English Catholic for centuries; and the penal or recusancy laws became severely stringent.

James met his first Parliament in 1604, and there was an immediate collision. Buckinghamshire sent as its member Goodwin, an outlaw; and James declared the election void. The Commons, in reply, declared that to settle a disputed election was part of the *Privilege* of Parliament, that is,

of those parliamentary rights which were established by custom; and they won. James then claimed that he, by divine right, was the fountain of all privileges. Parliament replied that such was not the case in England. In the same year the Commons protested against the arrest and imprisonment of one of their members, Sir Thomas Shirley. Here again they were successful; and immunity from arrest was acknowledged as one of the fundamental rights of members of Parliament. And when James, by his *Prerogative*, i.e. the inherent rights of the Crown, infringed the right of freedom of speech, they affirmed that free discussion was the inalienable right of Parliament from time immemorial.

In 1606 a question of taxation came to the front. James, relying on the reputed wealth of the English monarchy, had been somewhat reckless in his expenditure; and the ordinary customs duties, tunnage and poundage, which Parliament had for centuries granted to each new sovereign, proved insufficient for his needs. Consequently, on the ground that it was his prerogative to regulate trade, James increased the import and export duties without reference to Parliament. A merchant named John Bate refused to pay; but the judges upheld the King. James was thus encouraged, and when the Book of Rates embodying the new duties was issued, it was found to contain "New Impositions" considerably increasing the King's revenue. In 1610 Parliament declared them illegal.

Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, next brought forward a scheme called the "Great Contract," by which all the feudal dues of the

New Impositions.

Bate's Case.

Crown were to be commuted into an annual income of £200,000.

The Great Contract, 1610.

The plan fell through, and in 1611 James dissolved Parliament. He then contrived to tide over his financial difficulties by bestowing the new title of "baronet" on any gentleman who would lend him £1,000. The remedy was temporary only, and a new Parliament had to be called.

To secure one favourable to his interests, James negotiated with some of his friends who undertook—hence they were called "*Undertakers*"—to make the new members amenable to the royal will. But the new House of Commons, fiercely indignant with the "*Undertakers*," proved more refractory than was anticipated. They demanded that the King's claim to the New Impositions should be withdrawn. Thereupon, without a grant having been made, Parliament was again dissolved. For this reason it was nicknamed the Addled Parliament. Parliament was not summoned again till 1621. In the meantime James did not abate, but strained rather dangerously his use of the prerogative by levying benevolences, granting monopolies, and making use of the Star Chamber. By these devices he hoped to keep his exchequer supplied, and with the same object he seized on a suggestion of marrying his son Charles to the Infanta of Spain, who would bring with her a welcome dowry.

The King's arbitrary conduct did not pass unchallenged. Chief Justice Coke spoke against the Impositions, and was in favour of curtailing the royal prerogative. To him the theory of the divine right of kings was a chimera; nor would he set the law at defiance to cringe to the King's wishes. He was therefore dismissed.

Dismissal of Coke, 1616.

While James ruled without Parliament he was also, unfortunately, without statesmen. Salisbury had died in 1612. He had displayed tact and judgment in working harmoniously with the King, and was not without skill in devising means of raising money. James then became his own minister, and employed favourites to do the drudgery work. The corrupt practices which these introduced vitiated court influence, and alienated self-respecting men. The first favourite was Robert Carr, a fierce Scottish noble. Insolvent and arrogant, he was utterly worthless as a politician. Having been made Earl of Somerset, he wished to marry the wife of the Earl of Essex. A court enemy, Sir Thomas Overbury,

Robert Carr.

protested against the necessary divorce, and was poisoned. Shortly afterwards the guilt of Somerset's wife—if not of Somerset himself—was discovered, and both were ruined in 1616. The next favourite was George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, a man of some ability, but with few statesmanlike qualities.

James's ideas were in many ways in advance of his times, but in nothing more conspicuously than in his foreign policy : he could find no incongruity in proposing to give his son in marriage to a Catholic and bestowing his daughter upon a Protestant champion. The majority of his subjects denounced an alliance between Protestant England and Catholic Spain. Nevertheless, in 1604, James concluded a treaty of peace

**Foreign
Policy.**

with England's recent enemy, to the discomfiture of those ardent spirits who found it a profitable business to plunder Spanish galleons. Some years later, in 1613, the question was mooted of marrying

**Proposed
Spanish
Marriage,
1613.**

Charles, Prince of Wales, to the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III of Spain. The motive which animated James was peace. Spain had a deeper motive—to restore England to Catholicism ; and when it became known that one of the marriage conditions was to be the suspension of the penal laws, and the up-bringing of the next heir in the Catholic faith, there was evident dissatisfaction. This alliance was partly the cause of Somerset's ruin. Suspicion was deepened by the Raleigh business.

Raleigh, his brain frenzied by thirteen years of monotonous captivity, promised that if set at liberty he would discover gold mines of untold wealth in the New World. James allowed him to go, but he was not to collide with the Spaniards. An impossible

**Raleigh's
Expedition to
Guiana,
1617-1618,**

condition, for the Spaniards claimed the whole Spanish Main, and Raleigh was to sail for Guiana. He had visited it in happier days. Sailing up the Orinoco, he attacked a Spanish settlement, failed in his object, and was driven to return home. His followers were not of the mettle which had made British seamanship illustrious. The Spaniards complained of him as a reckless pirate. Nothing would please them

**and his
Death, 1618.**

better than the death of such a foe. To appease their wrath James had him executed on the previous charge of treason. The measure of the satisfaction which this sacrifice gave to Spain was the measure of its unpopularity in England.

Though James truckled to Spain, he did not wish to forfeit the Protestant alliance. He wished rather to propitiate them, and so limit the chances of war. Therefore, in 1613, he married his daughter Elizabeth to Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate, a staunch Protestant. This alliance, unfortunately, involved England in the bitter struggle in Germany known as the Thirty Years' War. This war was brought about as follows: Roughly speaking, North Germany was Protestant, and the South Catholic; and the Catholics, under the leadership of the Emperor, were resolved upon a titanic effort to overwhelm the Protestant states. The war cloud burst in Bohemia, which was Protestant. There the people, claiming the right to elect their own sovereign, repudiated their hereditary king, Ferdinand of Styria, and chose in his stead Frederick of the Palatinate, James's son-in-law. In 1619, Ferdinand, an uncompromising Catholic, became Emperor. The following year (1620) Frederick joined his prospective Bohemian subjects, and was crushed by the Catholics at the battle of the White Hill, not far from Prague. Meanwhile the Spaniards, in alliance with the Emperor, attacked the Palatinate, Frederick's hereditary dominions, and seized the western half.

James had no sympathy with his son-in-law's foolhardy enterprise in Bohemia; but when the Palatinate was in danger he allowed volunteers to cross over to defend it. Such tardy assistance was useless, for nothing but immediate and vigorous action could save the situation. Such was not the King's proposed course of action. He was averse to war; and with unwarranted trust in his own diplomacy hoped to detach Spain by negotiation. He failed to see that he was outwitted: that the Spaniards would not shrink from battle to re-establish Catholicism, and certainly would not abandon the Palatinate to befriend him. However, in 1621 James called Parliament together.

He presented no plans of war, and even declared that he would, if possible, avoid appealing to arms. Parliament, therefore, having granted two subsidies, proceeded to redress their grievances. The first of these were the trade monopolies which had multiplied enormously of recent years under the influence of James and Buckingham. Their attack shook the system somewhat rudely: Sir Giles Mompesson was impeached for his connection with them; and Buckingham, discreetly bending to the storm, abandoned his own.

**The Thirty
Years' War,
1618-1648.**

**Attitude of
James.**

**Monopolies
abolished,
1621.**

The next victim was Francis Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, and a man of brilliant talents. Unlike Coke he thought that the function of a judge was to defend the throne rather than merely interpret the law. But he had a loftier idea of the duties of Parliament than James, and so his advancement was slow. He was one of those whom Buckingham's influence had raised to power, and the Commons selected him as a victim on whom to vent their indignation. He had supported monopolies, and had accepted presents from suitors—an evil custom, but common enough at the time. Condemned of having received bribes to give corrupt judgments, he was fined and imprisoned, though shortly afterwards released. Five years later he died. He had been in favour of strengthening the Crown because there was so much political and religious unrest. He believed the Commons too ignorant to rule; still if James had listened to his salutary advice as to his relations with Parliament, he would not have sown seeds which were to bring forth such bitter fruit.

On the fall of Bacon, James made John Williams Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. He was a native of Conway, and had been educated first at Ruthin Grammar School and afterwards at Cambridge. A rapid series of promotions culminated in his becoming King's Chaplain in 1618, and Bishop of Lincoln at the same time that he became Lord Keeper, a position which had not been held by a clergyman for seventy years. In the dispute between James and his Parliament in 1622 he advocated moderation, being in favour of relieving the Catholics of some of their disabilities though opposed to the journey to Madrid. None laboured more assiduously in the next reign to prevent a breach between King and Parliament; though when war could no longer be avoided he stood by the King.

Meanwhile the Palatinate was breathing hard beneath the stress of the Catholics. James hoped that Parliament would endorse the proposed Spanish marriage alliance, which, he trusted, would result in the withdrawal of Spanish troops from his son-in-law's territories—a doubly vain hope. The Commons were willing enough to vote supplies to save the Palatinate, but demanded that

Parliament again dissolved, 1622. (i) James should embark on a vigorous foreign policy on the side of the Protestants; (ii) Charles should be married to a Protestant princess, and (iii) the penal laws against the English Catholics enforced. The King replied that his son's

marriage was no affair of theirs. The Commons in the "Great Protestation" protested that they had a right to discuss and give advice. James was furious; he tore the protest from the journals of the House of Commons with his own hand, and dismissed the recalcitrant members. The dissolution of Parliament was fatal to the cause of Frederick.

James, dazzled by visions of his own political dexterity, was utterly blind to Spanish craft. His faith in the Spanish alliance continued, and he sanctioned a piece of political romance manufactured in the brain of Buckingham, more vain than discreet. Charles and his friend were to ride through France in disguise, and woo the Infanta in Madrid. The affair was a dismal failure.

**Journey of
Charles and
Buckingham
to Madrid,
1623.**

Maria shuddered at the thought of wooing Charles, heir to the strongest of Protestant thrones; the King of Spain would not give his daughter away before the conditions were fulfilled, viz. the abolition of the penal or recusancy laws, and a pledge to bring up the next heir to the throne of England in the Catholic religion. Buckingham, whose rudeness had accorded ill with his mission, returned to England a sworn enemy of Spain; and Charles found it an easy task to convince his father of the perfidy of his would-be allies.

When Parliament met in 1624 Buckingham advocated a cause which he had hitherto vehemently denounced—war with Spain, which Lord Keeper Williams opposed. His other proposal, the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria of France, was not so well received, for the sister of the King of France was a Catholic. Louis XIII, however, was interested in curbing the power of the Austro-Spanish alliance, a policy inherited from Henry IV, whom the dagger of the assassin Ravallac had laid low as he was maturing his plans; and for this reason Parliament reluctantly acquiesced in a Catholic alliance, but on condition that the penal laws were to stand. The marriage treaty was signed, but Buckingham broke his faith with Parliament: for he made secret concessions by which the penal laws were to be suspended. Plans were drawn up for the recovery of the Palatinate, and a force of 12,000 men was sent over to co-operate with Count Mansfield and Christian of Denmark, the Protestant leaders. The expedition turned out a sorry business; but so popular had been the prospect of war that

**Alliance
with France.**

Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer, was impeached for opposing it, and taking bribes.

It was Buckingham who profited by this war fever. He had won complete mastery over James, who died in March, 1625, at the age of fifty-eight. And Charles was tractable enough, so that the Duke continued in power in the new reign, with disastrous consequences to the country.

Death of James.

The reign of James saw the first really effective attempts of the British in colonisation. In 1607 Raleigh's project of colonising Virginia was at last realized by John Smith, son of a Lincolnshire farmer. They called their first settlement Jamestown, in honour of King James. In the

Beginning of our Colonial Empire, 1607.

same year, 1607, a settlement was made in the Barbadoes, one of the islands of the West Indies. A little later other colonies grew around Virginia, among the first being Maryland, which received its charter from Charles I in 1632. This was the first proprietary colony, and Lord Baltimore, through whose efforts it was founded, became lord of the settlement. In 1620 the "Pilgrim Fathers"

Pilgrim Fathers.

settled north of Virginia. These settlers were Independent Nonconformists. They named their settlement Plymouth, and the new colony came to be called New England. In 1629 Massachusetts was colonised. Here all citizens were Independents in religion. The colonists at first suffered terrible privations, and the attacks of the native Indians were persistent and often murderous. In the north the settlers became yeomen farmers, and cultivated the land as they had done in their old homes. In the southern plantations slave labour was employed in the cultivation of tobacco, sugar, and other tropical products.

CHIEF DATES.

Hampton Court Conference	1604
Gunpowder Plot	1605
Dismissal of Coke	1616
Thirty Years' War	1618-1648
Death of Raleigh	1618
Visit of Charles to Spain	1623

NOTES.

1. James I and Parliament.

His was a theory of monarchy according to which the royal "Prerogative" was unlimited, and the "Privileges" of the Com-

mons the result of the Sovereign's favour. When the Tudors thought fit to override the law and Parliament, they did so in the conviction that the people were on their side. James failed to see this, or at least refused to act on it. Parliament, however, won some victories.

- (1.) Asserted their right to consider disputed elections (Goodwin's case, 1604).
- (2.) Secured freedom from arrest to members of Parliament (Shirley's case, 1604).
- (3.) Abolished monopolies.
- (4.) Revived impeachment. This method of proceeding against unpopular ministers had not been in vogue since the middle of the fifteenth century (1450).
- (5.) Claimed the right to discuss and give advice.

1604-1610. First Parliament. Questions of Privilege. Goodwin's Case. Shirley's Case. Freedom of Speech. Bate's Case and the New Impositions. Great Contract.

1610-1614. No Parliament. James raises money by bestowing title of "Baronet," on the grounds of Prerogative.

1614. Added Parliament. Undertakers.

1614-1621. No Parliament. James raises money by (i) Benevolences; (ii) Monopolies; (iii) Star Chamber fines.

Opposition.—A "Benevolence" in 1615 was condemned as illegal by *Sir Edward Coke*, the Chief Justice. Coke was a vigorous supporter of the constitutional liberties of the people; and for his opposition he was dismissed. Henceforth in this and the next reign he is one of the champions of the Commons.

1621-1622. Third Parliament. Monopolies attacked. Sir Giles Mompesson banished. Bacon dismissed. The Commons remonstrate against the Spanish marriage, and Catholicism. James tells them "not to meddle with matters of State too high for them." Commons reply with the *Great Protestation*, "That the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm are proper subjects and matter of debate and council in Parliament." James tears it out of the House of Commons journals.

1624. Fourth Parliament. Monopolies declared illegal. Cranfield dismissed for opposing Spanish war, and taking bribes.

2. Religious Policy.

Episcopacy and Elizabeth's established Church retained. Hence opposition of—

- (i) Puritans. Millenary Petition. James hostile to them at the Hampton Court Conference (1604). Nonconformists in-

crease in numbers. Many leave England, e.g. Pilgrim Fathers.

(ii) Catholics. Bye Plot (1603). Gunpowder Plot (1605). Penal laws afterwards became more stringent.

3. Foreign Policy.

(a) Alliance with Spain striven for, by marrying Henry, and on his death Charles, to a Spanish princess. Note the sacrifice of Raleigh, and the expedition of Charles and Buckingham to Spain.

(b) Attitude in Thirty Years' War.

(c) Alliance with France (1624).

4. Impeachment and Attainder.

In an Impeachment the House of Commons prosecutes an obnoxious minister. The Lords, forming the highest judicial tribunal, act as judges; and a majority of them decide for the innocence or guilt of the accused. The first impeachment was in 1376, viz. Latimer and Lyons by the Good Parliament. Other instances were: Bacon (1621); Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex (1624); Buckingham (1626); Strafford and Laud (1640).

In an attainder, a Bill of Attainder, condemning some powerful minister for treason, is introduced into Parliament by the crown or some party in Parliament. Before it becomes law it must, like any other bill, pass through both Houses and receive the royal assent. This method was arbitrary, for the accused had no power to defend himself, and each House in its turn became accusers and judges. Instances were frequent during the Wars of the Roses; and under the Tudors, e.g. Cromwell, 1540. Also Strafford, 1641. The person attainted lost all civil rights.

CHAPTER II

CHARLES I. 1625-1649

Born 1600 ; married, 1625, Henrietta Maria ; beheaded 1649.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES :—

France. Louis XIII (1610-1643).

Louis XIV (1643-1715).

Spain. Philip III (1598-1621).

Philip IV (1621-1665).

Divisions of the reign—Charles I and Buckingham's administration—Petition of Right—Wentworth, Earl of Strafford—Laud—Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—Methods of raising money—John Hampden—Wentworth in Ireland—The National Covenant—The Long Parliament—Root and Branch Bill—Ireland—Grand Remonstrance—Civil War—Cavaliers and Roundheads—Edgehill—Oliver Cromwell—Marston Moor—New Model—Naseby—Presbyterian and Independent—Second Civil War—Battle of St. Fagan's—Siege of Pembroke—Pride's Purge—Charles beheaded.

THE reign of Charles I resolves itself into four well-marked divisions. In the first (1625-1629) Charles tries to govern through Parliament, and four years of ceaseless bickering ended in a complete breach between the two. For the next eleven years (1629-1640) the King rules alone, and his arbitrary government makes an appeal to the sword inevitable. Therefore, in the third period (1640-1646) we hear the clash of battle deciding between King and Parliament. Parliament won, but by means of the army. Parliament was Presbyterian ; the army was Independent. Which of these two was to be supreme ? The last period of the reign (1646-1649)—the second Civil war, sharp, fierce, destructive, decided in favour of the army, and Cromwell.

The reign is a fateful commentary on the character of Charles. Friend and foe alike found him obstinate and utterly untrustworthy.

Character of Charles I. Absorbed in his belief in the divine right of Kings, he failed to gauge the strength of the constitutional forces arrayed against his absolutism ; and he treated the Commons with contempt. His conscientiousness, his love of learning, his rare personal attractions, have swayed in his favour the

judgment of weaker minds, but are negligible quantities in estimating his conduct. In June his bride, Henrietta Maria of France, arrived in England. Coming from a country in which the monarchy was accumulating power, her influence could not be otherwise than baneful. Moreover, she was a Catholic, and was therefore distrusted.

Popular approval had attended the declaration of war with Spain at the end of his father's reign, and Charles and Buckingham were

Charles's First Parliament, 1625. hopeful that the Commons would vote liberal supplies, so as to subsidise the German Protestants and regain the Palatinate. Parliament met in 1625. Instead of harmony there was an immediate collision. The

secret engagements with France to suspend the penal or recusancy laws against the English Catholics on the marriage of Charles with the French princess, excited profound suspicion. The Queen attended Mass, an abominable thing in the eyes of ardent Puritans like John Pym and the country gentry who constituted the majority of the Commons. Moreover, Parliament suspected that Charles was

Causes of Uneasiness. anxious to recover the Palatinate for the sake of his brother-in-law, and not for the sake of Protestantism.

This uneasiness made Buckingham unpopular; and the Commons, led by Coke and Wentworth, were not prepared to entrust the nation's money to a discredited minister. They therefore voted tunnage and poundage—a customs duty of 2s. per tun on wine, and 6d. per pound sterling on merchandise, levied at the ports—for one year only instead of for life; they petitioned the King to enforce the penal laws, and demanded the dismissal of Buckingham. Charles resented this interference with his prerogative, and dissolved his first Parliament.

In the hope of filling his exchequer from the weighty treasure ships of Spain, an expedition was despatched to Cadiz under Edward

Expedition to Cadiz, 1625. Cecil. But the enterprise lacked resolution, and the fleet returned without any gain. Meanwhile,

Buckingham promised financial assistance to Christian of Denmark, leader of the continental Protestants. To add to his obligations Charles quarrelled with his brother-in-law in France. These difficulties, consequent upon an active foreign policy, could not be surmounted with the money Charles had in hand, and it became necessary to summon a second Parliament in 1626.

To secure a more docile assembly than the first, Charles made

the most outspoken leaders, such as Coke and Phillips, sheriffs, so that they could not be returned as members. But **Second** the hour produced men of courage. Of these the **Parliament,** chief was Sir John Eliot, a Cornish squire of ability **1626.** and eloquence. Under his lead the new House of Commons showed itself more intractable than its predecessor. Instead of granting supplies it presented a list of grievances, and demanded the impeachment of Buckingham who was considered the fountain of iniquity. Charles once more intervened between the minister and his assailants by dissolving Parliament, and distrust of King and minister became more intense.

Charles refused to follow the advice of the Lord Keeper who might have saved him his throne and England much bloodshed. **Lord Keeper** Williams advised strongly against the dissolution of **Williams** Parliament. This was made a pretext for getting **Dismissed.** rid of him from the position of Lord Keeper, and "with him the last chance of compromise between King and Parliament disappeared from the counsels of Charles." On the introduction of the Petition of Right Williams renewed his pacific proposals. But though Buckingham endeavoured to win him to his side, Laud, whose earlier preferment to St. David's was due largely to his influence, was now uncompromisingly hostile to his former patron.

Buckingham displayed his incapacity in foreign affairs as well as at home. He was animated by personal enmity against Richelieu, the great French minister, rather than by eagerness **Expedition to** for the welfare of his country. The true policy of **La Rochelle,** England was at least a friendly understanding with **1627.** France. For France was eager to overthrow the power of the Austro-Spanish alliance on the continent; and Spain had not yet ceased to be England's greatest enemy. In this way Charles and Buckingham might have crippled Spanish commerce, attacked her colonies, and subsidised her enemies in Europe. It is true that Charles had failed to grant toleration to the Catholics, which was part of his marriage contract with France. But instead of trying to come to some agreement, he actually picked a quarrel with Louis XIII and sent assistance to the French Huguenots, who were at war with their Government. This was the expedition to the Isle of Rhé, at the entrance to La Rochelle, where the Huguenots were holding out against Richelieu. Buckingham took charge of the enterprise, and it ended in complete failure.

This disaster brought into greater prominence the constitutional questions which awaited solution at home. The money for the

Forced Loans. Rochelle expedition had been raised by forced loans, which were a modification of benevolences and had been abolished by statute. Gentlemen were compelled to lend the King a fixed amount, and the Crown lawyers argued that the practice was not illegal. Chief Justice Crewe opposed it, and was dismissed. Many who refused to lend were either thrown into prison or had soldiers billeted upon them. To prevent cases which reflected upon Charles's administration going to the ordinary courts, he proclaimed martial law.

Among those sent to prison was Sir John Eliot. Grievances accumulated. The people resented the King's right to raise money without consent of Parliament, and his right to imprison his subjects without trial. Moreover, Parliament questioned the King's right to choose his ministers.

The legality of arbitrary imprisonment was tested in the case of Darnell, one of the prisoners. He demanded a writ of *habeas corpus*; in other words, a writ requiring the gaoler to present him before a judge and specify the ground of his imprisonment. It was thereupon stated that the prisoner was detained by special command of the King; and the judges decided that such a warrant justified imprisonment without trial. Soon afterwards Darnell and his fellow-prisoners were set at liberty, but the precedent remained.

When poverty forced Charles to call his third Parliament in 1628, the leaders of the Commons, Wentworth, Eliot, Pym and Coke were resolute in their demand for redress. Charles asked for money, and they presented him with the **The Petition of Right, 1628.** This document set forth the recent illegal practices of the King, and demanded that (1) no person shall be imprisoned without the cause being specified; (2) no tax, loan or benevolence shall be enforced without consent of Parliament; (3) soldiers and sailors shall not be billeted in private houses; (4) martial law shall not be proclaimed in time of peace. Charles tried to evade it, but subsequently yielded and gave his assent. The Commons then made a grant of five subsidies, convinced that they had triumphed, and Parliament was prorogued. Before it reassembled in January, the members became aware that the King intended to put an unexpected inter-

pretation upon the Petition of Right. The struggle had only begun.

Now that Charles had money in hand, preparations were urged forward for the relief of La Rochelle. Buckingham went down to Portsmouth to superintend operations, and fell a victim to the poniard of a fanatic, Felton. It matters little whether the assassin was actuated more by private animosity than by political considerations. Charles had lost a minister to whom he was deeply attached; and to his dismay the event was popular. This circumstance envenomed his feelings, but it brought to his side a welcome ally. This was

Wentworth joins the King. Wentworth, the erstwhile champion of the Commons. Before the reassembling of Parliament he had been raised to the peerage, and was henceforth to be the ablest champion of the monarchy. Eliot and Pym were left the outstanding figures in the Commons.

During the prorogation Charles raised money by means of tunnage and poundage, in spite of the Petition of Right. For two centuries

Tunnage and Poundage. Parliament had been accustomed to grant these customs dues for life; Charles's first Parliament had granted them for one year only. In this course the Commons had since fortified themselves, as they thought, behind the Petition of Right. In other words, they claimed that customs dues were the subject of an annual grant by Parliament. Charles claimed that they could be levied independently of Parliament.

Privilege of Members. The Commons were further exasperated by a breach of privilege; for Charles had imprisoned one of their members, and seized his goods, for refusing to pay. They protested that members were exempt from arrest, and that to seize their goods was illegal.

Innovations in religion embittered an already intolerable situation. A strong Puritan or Calvinist feeling animated the Commons.

High Churchmen. On the other hand, in the Church there had arisen a confident and assertive school of clergy called Arminians, or, as we would now term them, High Churchmen. Rejecting the stern principles of the Puritans, they loved elaborate ritual like the Roman Catholics, and preferred beauty of worship to its simplicity. What was more important to Charles, they advocated absolute and divine authority of Kings. In defiance of Parliament which had formally disapproved of their practices,

Charles gave preference to High Churchmen and promoted them to bishoprics. One of these was Laud, who became Bishop of London. He had been Bishop of St. David's, and while at the head of that see ordered the building of a chapel at the episcopal residence at Abergwili, near Carmarthen.

When Parliament assembled, Charles endeavoured to win over some of the most prominent leaders. Eliot and his friends, how-

**The Third
Parliament
dissolved,
1629.**

ever, remained inflexible, and Charles ordered the Speaker, Finch, to adjourn. A stormy scene followed, for Eliot was determined to carry three resolutions, viz., (1) that those who introduced innovations in

religion, (2) exacted tannage and poundage, or (3) paid such without consent of Parliament were traitors to English liberty. Passion ran high. The Speaker refused to put the resolutions, but he was held down in his chair by two of the members while the resolutions were put by Holles, and carried with vociferous applause. The doors were then unlocked; and the King's guard, which had just arrived to expel the members, was admitted. The Commons dispersed and Parliament was dissolved. Eliot was arrested and indicted for the stormy proceedings in the House. He however refused to admit the right of any tribunal, except Parliament itself, to pass judgment on what had taken place in the

**Imprisonment
and Death
of Eliot.**

House. The Judges ruled differently, and Eliot was thrown into prison. In three years the harshness and severity of his treatment had killed him, and his

name went down to posterity as a martyr to liberty and freedom of speech.

Parliament did not meet again for eleven years. Could Charles make himself absolute? The grossly incompetent administration

of Buckingham had accelerated the ruin of his earlier efforts; but the key to the situation was the power

**Second Period,
1629-1640.**

of the purse. Could Charles raise sufficient money for his needs by expedients and artifices not flagrantly unconstitutional? It was obvious that he could not embark on a wasteful foreign war; so in 1630 peace was made with France and Spain, while the Elector Palatine was abandoned. Even with this restriction of expenditure Charles failed to pay his way; moreover he perpetrated a series of blunders which gave the Commons certain victory.

Of these blunders the most subtle in its influence concerned

religion. In ecclesiastical matters the King's adviser was Laud.

The Country's Grievances— He had been translated from the see of Bath and Wells to that of London, in 1628. In 1633 he became Archbishop of Canterbury. Learned, zealous and conscientious, he was superficial, bigoted, and uncompromising in his demand for rigid conformity in external observances. The Puritans in the Church had hitherto enjoyed considerable latitude, so much so that they cherished hopes of converting the Church of England to their views. Laud's High Church principles put an end not only to these hopes, but even to any compromise. To him ceremonies and vestments were as vital as spiritual truths, and any infraction which marred the beauty of worship, as he conceived it, was a crime. He discouraged such Puritan practices as spontaneity in prayer and sermon, and enjoined on all the use of the Prayer-Book. The Communion tables, which were removed from the naves to the east end of the churches, railed off so as to guard them from profanation. He advocated celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, and other Catholic practices which it had been the work of the Reformation to sweep away.

Laud's Romanising tendencies became more obnoxious with the publication of the "Book of Sports," a proclamation which legalised Sunday sports. This disregard of the fourth commandment inflamed the Puritans and led them to believe that Charles wished to restore Catholicism. That the Queen worshipped in her own private chapel fanned the glowing embers of distrust, and Puritans were expelled in increasing numbers.

Book of Sports. To rivet the shackles of conformity upon an unwilling clergy, Laud used the hated Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission,

Star Chamber and High Commission. engines of tyranny which were employed with uncompromising severity. As early as 1630 Dr. Leighton, a Scottish physician, had been pilloried, flogged, and deprived of his ears for writing a book against the bishops. In 1634 Richard Parry of Carmarthenshire was fined £2,000 for speaking against the Bishops. The same year Prynne, a Puritan lawyer, wrote *Histriomastix*, or "The Players' Scourge," a violent attack on stage plays, which, by attacking actresses, was supposed to reflect on the Queen. For this he was pilloried and severely mutilated. Three years later he was made to suffer further indignities. Popular passion was roused and Prynne looked

upon as a martyr. Honest in purpose but poor in tact, Laud, by his immoderate energy raised a devastating storm. The Star Chamber became an odious instrument of injustice. It was entirely subservient to the wishes of Charles and Laud. Its proceedings were secret, its methods vicious, and its tortures pitiless. Many sought new homes in the New England colonies ; those that remained at home harboured their wrath for a future day.

The first blast, then, that helped to overthrow the monarchy of Charles was brought about by Laud's religious system. The second (2) **Methods of Raising Money.** concerned finance. This was the most pressing of Charles's difficulties. He levied tunnage and poundage on the grounds of his prerogative to regulate trade. Obsolete rights of the Crown were brought into play: all who owned land to the value of £40 a year were to be knighted or called upon to pay a heavy fine. An inquisition was held into the royal forests, and heavy fines imposed on those landowners who were found to have made encroachments. Monopolies were sold to the highest bidders. The city of London had to pay a handsome fine for mismanaging its lands in Ulster. Such ingenious expedients of Charles, and his Treasurer Weston, raised a precarious revenue, but not without exasperating all classes.

What irritated men most was ship-money, a device of Noy, the Attorney-General. There was an ancient custom by which the sea-ports were required to furnish ships for the country's defence ; it was now argued that instead of demanding ships the King might demand money with which to build them. It was a matter of some urgency, for piracy was rife and the navy needed strengthening. The money was paid without much demur, and Charles applied it honestly on coast defence. This was in 1634. In the following year the demand was renewed and made applicable to the country generally. "For," argued Charles, "the defence of the coast is vital to the country at large, and all should contribute thereto." But such a claim had never been made before, and without parliamentary sanction it was unconstitutional.

Buckinghamshire was called upon to subscribe the money necessary to equip a new ship. John Hampden, a gentleman of the county, and one of the ablest leaders of the Parliament, refused to pay his quota, determined to test the legality of the imposition. He thus

**John
Hampden's
Opposition,
1637.**

brought the opposition to a focus. His trial took place in December, 1637, in the Court of Exchequer. Five of the judges gave a verdict in his favour, the remaining seven in favour of the Crown. It followed that the King could on his own authority raise taxes for the defence of the country. Parliamentary government was brought to the edge of a precipice.

We have now considered two sources of danger to Charles and his throne, viz., the religious policy of Laud, and the financial expedients of the King. A third danger
(3) **Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1640.** appeared in Ireland. Thither in 1633, the year that Laud became Archbishop, Wentworth proceeded as Lord-deputy. In the struggle for the Petition of Right he had fought side by side with Eliot and Pym. When the reins of power fell from the hands of the dead Buckingham, he cut himself loose from Parliament and became the King's champion. He was created Earl of Strafford in 1640. He believed enlightened administration by an absolute sovereign to be the best form of government, and he was prepared to play the part of administrator, the House of Commons to be nothing more than an assembly for registering decrees. His was a rule of iron, he and Laud calling their system of government "thorough." That meant the thorough suppression of all semblance of opposition to the royal will.

Wentworth put his theory into practice first as President of the Council of the North. This Council had been established by Henry VIII as a result of the Pilgrimage of Grace, for the better administration of the Border counties, and it closely resembled the Council of Wales and the Marches, which sat at Ludlow. Its authority was arbitrary, like that of the Star Chamber, and its methods as ruthless. By means of it the north of England was reduced to obedience.

He then shipped his system to Ireland, with beneficial results. Agriculture was improved; Dutch weavers were introduced; industries were fostered; and the material prosperity of the country made astonishing advance. Navigation between England and Ireland became safer; the condition of the army was improved. The religious policy of Laud was imposed with the same inflexible rigour on Irish Catholics as on Presbyterian settlers from Scotland. Steeped in injustice, Wentworth could not see the egregious iniquity of his proposal to confiscate the last retreat of the Irish chiefs. This was Connaught; the

rest of Ireland had already been appropriated by settlers from Britain. Wentworth refused to confirm the Irish landlords in their possessions, and declared Connaught to be royal land. A jury which dared to dispute the right of the Crown thus arbitrarily to seize native estates were heavily fined. Fortunately his scheme was unfinished when events at home brought about his recall.

The circumstances which led to his return had reference to Scotland. The Scottish Church was Presbyterian, and had no love for bishops. James I, however, had partly succeeded (4) **Laud's Policy in Scotland.** in introducing the Episcopal system. Laud wished to extend it, and to make the Church of Scotland one with the Church of England, giving the Bishops similar privileges and endowing them with lands confiscated from the Catholics at the Reformation. A new bishopric was set up at Edinburgh. Vestments and surplices were ordered to be worn; and in December, 1637, a new service-book or liturgy, based on the principles of Laud, was ordered to be used. This restoration of Episcopacy provoked a violent storm of resentment, the more so in that it had been accomplished without consulting the Scottish Parliament or the General Assembly—the body of clergy and laymen which controlled the affairs of the Scottish Church.

The financial, religious, and Scottish policies of Charles came to a crisis in 1637. In that year the judges decided in the case of Hampden that the King could levy taxes without the sanction of Parliament. Prynne was pilloried, and was applauded for his heroism. The new Scottish Liturgy was read for the first time in the new Cathedral of St. Giles's, Edinburgh, amidst riotous scenes. From these sources came the blasts that hurled Charles from his throne.

The Scottish clergy refused to read the new service book, and their refusal shortly developed into a national resistance against Charles. A body of ten Commissioners was set up, called the *Tables*, representing nobles, gentry, clergy and townspeople. Their work was to guide the opposition, and they became practical rulers of the country. In the following year all classes eagerly signed the National Covenant, a document binding the Scots to resist all innovations in the direction of Popery. Later in the year the General Assembly of the Scots met at Glasgow. They decreed that they wielded authority

The Year 1637.

National Covenant, 1638.

over the Bishops no less than over the Presbyterian clergy. Charles, who had promised to abandon the new liturgy, resented their action and ordered the Assembly to dissolve. They refused, declaring that the King had no right to interfere with the spiritual freedom of the Church.

This was war. Charles failed to rouse the old national jealousy between the two countries, for England and Scotland had for the time a common interest in resisting arbitrary government. He mustered a few troops; but they were untrained and uninspired. The Scots, on the contrary, were animated by the principle of religious liberty, and were led by a man of experience, Alexander Leslie, who had risked his life for the Protestant cause in Germany. Charles tried to gain time by recognising the Scottish Parliament and General Assembly. Thus ended what was called the First Bishops' War. The first act of the Scots then was to abolish Episcopacy.

Charles was furious at this. Meanwhile, Wentworth returned from Ireland and became Earl of Strafford. Ignorant of the temper of the nation, he advised the summoning of Parliament so as to raise money for a Scottish war. After an interval of eleven years Parliament met in April, 1640. Charles could get no money without first redressing grievances. Pym and Hampden gave eloquent utterance to the prevailing discontent. Nothing availed. When it had sat but three weeks it was dissolved. It became known as the Short Parliament.

The Scots, with deepened suspicions, took the offensive again. Charles, in straitened circumstances, and with but the shadow of an army, had no hope of resisting their onward course under Leslie. He was defeated at Newburn on the Tyne, near Newcastle, and agreed to pay the Scots the expenses they had incurred in the war. Thus ended the Second Bishops' War. How could Charles meet this indemnity? Unwilling to face the Commons, he summoned a Council of Peers at York. To his chagrin they gave no better counsel than to summon Parliament—a desperate course. On November 3, 1640, the Long Parliament met at Westminster. It opens the third period of the reign.

The leaders of the Commons were the popular hero John Hampden, and the eloquent John Pym. The champion of compromise was John Williams, formerly Lord Keeper, whom Charles had

**The Bishop's
War, 1639-
1640.**

**The Short
Parliament,
1640.**

**Battle of
Newburn,
1640.**

once more received into favour. In order to try and conciliate his moderate opponents, Charles made him Archbishop of York in 1641. The protagonists of absolutism, Strafford and Laud, were at once imprisoned. Of the two the more dangerous was Strafford—a more cruel adversary to the cause of the Commons in that he was an apostate. He was at first impeached. In an impeachment the Commons prosecuted the accused for treason, and the Lords were the judges. But treason implied injury directed against the King, whereas Strafford's crime was to have served Charles too ably. It was obvious that the impeachment would result in Strafford's acquittal. Pym and Hampden, therefore, brought in a Bill of Attainder condemning Strafford to death. This bill, like all others, had to pass the two Houses of Parliament, and finally receive the royal assent. It passed the House of Commons with acclamation. After some hesitation the Lords let it through. Would Charles give his assent? Would he sign away the life of his ablest champion? He had given a solemn assurance that not a hair of his head should be touched, and pitifully implored for a milder penalty. The Commons remained inflexible. The mob raged furiously without. A rumour spread that the Queen was in danger. In utter despair Charles signed, and the Bill of Attainder became law. In May, 1641, Strafford perished on Tower Hill, exclaiming, "Put not your trust in princes." Laud for the present remained a helpless prisoner. His head was struck off four years later, early in 1645.

Parliament then proceeded to set up bulwarks against despotic power in the future. The Court of High Commission, the Star Chamber, and the Council of the North were abolished, and the Council of Wales and the Marches made powerless for mischief. A Triennial Act was passed, enacting that not more than three years should elapse between two successive Parliaments. To guard itself against capricious dissolution, Parliament enacted that it should not be dissolved without its own consent. Ship-money, tunnage and poundage, and customs duties were not to be imposed without the authority of Parliament; and distraint of knighthood was declared illegal. These acts were necessary to safeguard the interests of the Commons, among whom there had been a noteworthy unanimity so far.

The first note of discord was struck on the question of religion. The Puritans were not out of danger while the Bishops sat in the

Root and Branch Bill, 1641. House of Lords. The Commons, therefore, brought in a bill to remove them. The Lords rejected it.

The House of Commons retaliated by bringing in the "Root and Branch Bill" for the abolition of Episcopacy. This bill met with fierce opposition even in the Commons from a party led by Edward Hyde and Lord Falkland, who loved the Prayer-Book and disliked the tyranny of presbyters. It passed the Commons by a small majority, and was afterwards dropped.

Charles saw a faint streak of hope through this rift. Not without reason, he believed that Hyde and the Episcopalians would soon range themselves on his side against the Puritans.

Charles seeks Allies. He also tried to negotiate for military help from the Netherlands; and with this object his daughter

Mary was married to William of Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces. In August of the same year, Charles went to Scotland to enlist further sympathy—a happy thought, which would have been attended with greater success had it not been marred by an ugly business called "The Incident," which cast a veil of suspicion over his proceedings. This "Incident" was a foolish

The Incident, 1641. attempt of some of Charles's friends to seize Argyle and the Presbyterian chiefs, Montrose and Argyle's leading opponents being suspected of complicity.

More ominous was the news from Ireland. Owen O'Neill, an exiled Ulster chieftain, had returned, bent on dire vengeance for

Rebellion in Ireland. Strafford's iniquities. And in the Irish he had very inflammable material for his purpose. A revolt having broken out, atrocities and massacres involved the unhappy land in a deluge of blood. Several thousands were slain and murderous tales reached England, exaggerated tenfold.

It was set down as a monstrous plot to destroy Protestantism, and the Queen's Catholic tendencies gave colour to the rash suspicion.

Pym and his friends became apprehensive and resolved on bold measures. They drew up the Grand Remonstrance. This docu-

The Grand Remonstrance, Nov., 1641. ment recapitulated all Charles's misdeeds and attributed to him an attempt to subvert the constitution.

It demanded (1) that ministers should be appointed who enjoyed the confidence of Parliament, and (2) that Church

questions should be settled by a synod of divines. This was an attack on Episcopacy. After a tumultuous debate the Remonstrance passed the Commons by a majority of eleven. Soon afterwards it was printed, so that the country might see its justice.

A majority of eleven, however, was unsatisfactory. Tact and moderation would now have given Charles a strong party even in the Commons. But swayed by a blind determination to regain all his lost power, he entered on a series of extravagant blunders which alienated from him

**Charles's
Blunders.**

those who were wavering. An insolent adventurer was put in command of the Tower. The Guards were removed from the House of Commons. Charles declared the proceedings of the Lords illegal, because the mob in their fury prevented twelve of the Bishops from attending. Among them were Archbishop John Williams, and the bishops of Llandaff and St. Asaph. He drove more to the other side by his insincerity and deceitfulness. He promised to uphold the institutions of the country; and on the honour of a King declared that the Commons should not be attacked.

**Attempt to
arrest the**

Five Members, he had recently made Attorney-General, to procure the arrest of Lord Kimbolton and the five mem-

bers—Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazelrig and Strode—for having negotiated with the Scots. The demand for their surrender was not complied with. Next day Charles came down to the House with a strong bodyguard. He looked around for Mr. Pym. The birds had flown, Mr. Pym and the others having escaped by the river to the city, where they were safe with the friendly Londoners. Charles, baffled, left the House amid frenzied cries of "Privilege."

Shortly afterwards he left his palace at Whitehall, and the Queen departed for Holland with the Crown jewels to buy arms. The

**Preparations
for War.**

rush of events pointed unmistakeably to the arbitration of war. For some time, however, King and Parliament parleyed. Charles gave his assent to a bill excluding Bishops from the House of Lords, and agreed to further confiscations in Ireland, and to dispatch additional troops. He repudiated the Militia Bill, a measure to transfer the control of the Militia from the King to Parliament. Parliament thereupon assumed the power by Ordinance. This was obeyed very generally. In April, 1642, Hull refused admission to Charles—an act which

amounted to a declaration of war. Parliament then drew up the "Nineteen Propositions," the effect of which would be to make itself supreme in religious, civil and military affairs. They were presented to Charles at York, and were indignantly rejected. He then issued Commissions of Array authorizing his friends to raise troops. Meanwhile Parliament gathered forces in accordance with the Militia Ordinance, and the Earl of Essex was put in command. His Adjutant-General was Sir John Meyrick of Pembrokehire. On August 22, 1642, the King unfurled his standard at Nottingham. The Great Civil War, or the Great Rebellion, had begun.

The great dividing line between the two parties was religion. The Royalists or Cavaliers consisted of those who adhered to the Established Church, and the Catholics, who were more akin to them than to the Puritans. The Parliamentarians or Roundheads, as they were called in derision, found their strength in the Puritans and Nonconformists. From a political standpoint, the Royalists, who embraced about one-half of the Commons and the majority of the Lords, were made up of (1) those who would vest the King with arbitrary power, and (2) those who wished to curb this prerogative of the Crown, but were at the same time loyal to the person of the King, and feared to plunge the country into a revolution. Such was the party of Hyde and Falkland. The Roundheads, on the other hand, believed that Parliament should be supreme. Geographically, though every county had its Roundhead and its Cavalier, the strength of the King lay in the north and west. The south and east, then the more progressive and industrious parts of the country, were for Parliament. Socially there was no division, for gentry, yeomen, and peasants were found on both sides. But the middle classes threw in their lot with the Parliament, which also secured the ports, and consequently the navy.

From Nottingham Charles marched to Shrewsbury, where he was to be reinforced by an army of Welshmen. Essex, who had gathered his troops at Northampton, marched to Worcester, placing garrisons in many of the Midland towns. Taking the aggressive, Charles boldly marched on London, his enemy's stronghold. Essex moved from Worcester to intercept him. The two armies met at *Edgehill*, near Banbury,

The Nineteen Propositions.

Civil War, Aug. 22, 1642.

Cavaliers and Round-heads.

Battle of Edgehill, Oct. 23, 1642.

on the borders of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, and the first serious trial of strength took place on October 23, 1642. The King was well furnished with horsemen, and had a brilliant cavalry officer in his nephew Rupert. Dashing cavalry charges scattered the Parliamentary wings, with Rupert pursuing in a headlong rush for booty. Essex' infantry in the centre stood their ground, and the Royalist cavalry returned too late to drive home their advantage. Having gained a doubtful victory, Charles marched to Oxford and made it his headquarters. He then continued his march on London. Essex, who had retired to Worcester, was now approaching the city, and the London militia came out to meet him. Charles probably would have gained by another pitched battle and a vigorous attempt



to seize the capital. But he hesitated, and after a brush with his enemy at Turnham Green, near Brentford, in which the Welsh infantry greatly distinguished themselves, he retired to Oxford.

During 1643 there was fighting all over the country. Charles had his base at Oxford, and Essex his in London. Except for a skirmish at *Chalgrove Field*, not far from Oxford, in which Hampden fell, the two main armies were not very active during the spring and summer. The main interest lies with the subsidiary forces. In the south-west Sir Ralph Hopton for the King was opposed to Waller. Hopton swept Devonshire by a victory at Stratton; brushed Waller aside at Lansdown; and with assistance from Oxford, routed him at *Roundway Down*. Then Bristol fell to Rupert—a crushing blow to the Parliamentary cause in the west. In

**1643, Chal-
grove Field.**

**Roundway
Down (July).**

Rupert's army were about 5,000 Welsh under Sir John Owen of Clenenau. The Royalists had reduced the south-west except Plymouth, and Gloucester which was invested by Charles. Meanwhile in the north the Earl of Newcastle, for the King, defeated his opponents at Adwalton or Atherton Moor, and reduced Yorkshire, except Hull. That seaport was held by Lord



Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas, and could hold out the better in that the Parliament held command of the sea.

In the autumn the main armies were again in action, Charles besieging Puritan Gloucester, and Essex moving to relieve it. Essex, having succeeded in his task, returned to London, but found Charles barring his way at *Newbury*. With astonishing vigour, he cut his way through in spite of Rupert's impetuous onslaughts. Falkland was slain. Charles's prospects were waning.

Meanwhile, events were taking place in the east which were to determine the course of the war. The Eastern Counties had formed an Association, by which the military levies of the counties were massed together, drilled as one force, and prepared to march to the scene of war. Stern Nonconformist Puritans, they submitted to a healthy vigorous discipline at the hands of Oliver Cromwell. But more effective than their military training was the cause which inspired them—religious liberty. Already in October, Cromwell and his Association forces had defeated the Royalists at Gainsborough and later at Winceby. He then raised the siege of Hull in co-operation with the Fairfaxes. This Association was the first great factor that accounted for the King's overthrow.

Before the end of the year Parliament had made a fruitful alliance with the Scots. This was the Solemn League and Covenant. The Scots promised to put an army into the field; and Parliament agreed to re-model the English Church on Presbyterian lines, like the Church of Scotland. Amongst those who signed the Covenant was Sir Thomas Myddleton, the Member for Denbighshire. This treaty was the last work of the great Parliamentarian, Pym, who died in December. In such an even contest the accession of the Scots had a determining influence. It was, indeed, the second great factor in the King's overthrow. Charles, too, sought allies. By an agreement called the "Cessation" he ordered the suspension of hostilities in Ireland for one year; and the Irish troops were summoned to his assistance. Having landed at Mostyn, at the estuary of the Dee, they were defeated at Nantwich early in 1644.

Nantwich was the beginning of a disastrous year for Charles. In April Hopton, hitherto victorious, succumbed to Waller at Cheriton. The Scottish army of the Covenant crossed the border under Lord Leven (Alexander Leslie) and his experienced kinsman, David Leslie. They joined hands with the Fairfaxes, and the Earl of Newcastle was driven into York. The army of the Eastern Association under the Earl of Manchester, with Cromwell as second in command, came to assist them. The danger was serious, and Rupert, with the flower of the King's army swept in, and by brilliant manœuvres, relieved the city. Thus

The Eastern Association.

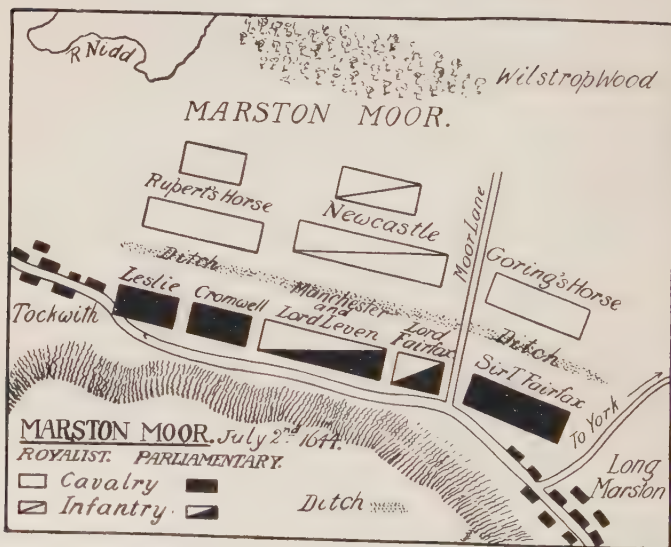
Oliver Cromwell.

Solemn League and Covenant.

The Cessation.

Marston Moor (July).

emboldened, the Cavaliers offered battle; the Roundheads accepted the challenge on *Marston Moor*. Cromwell and his Ironsides, together with David Leslie, faced the pick of Rupert's unbeaten cavalry on the left. He suddenly advanced to the attack while Newcastle, totally unaware of Cromwell's intentions, was in his coach calmly smoking his evening pipe. The conflict was determined and fierce. Cromwell's boisterous attacks proved irresistible. Rupert yielded, and his retreat became a rout. Cromwell refused to pursue, re-formed, and came to the aid of the centre. There, on



the left flank, Manchester had driven home his attack, but the Cavaliers had carried the right, and Goring's horse had swept aside the Yorkshire cavalry. The arrival of Cromwell threw the victorious Royalists into utter confusion. "God made them as stubble to our swords," wrote Cromwell.

The results of the victory of Marston Moor were two-fold. The north was won completely for the Roundheads, Newcastle's Yorkshire army having been shattered. Secondly, Cromwell had justified his claim to be the finest cavalry

Results.

officer of the day. Henceforth during the war, the success of the Roundheads is centred in him and his intrepid Ironsides.

Charles found encouragement in the south. While Essex and Waller were driving him to Worcester, the former, anxious to recover Cornwall and Devon, left Waller to oppose the King. Charles seized the opportunity, advanced against Waller and defeated him at *Copredy Bridge*.

**Copredy
Bridge.**

He then pursued Essex and compelled his army to surrender at Lostwithiel in Cornwall. Essex escaped by sea. Manchester and the victorious Roundheads of the north now came south, and should have crushed Charles and prevented him reaching Oxford. He hesitated, and gained but a very unsatisfactory victory at Newbury. Charles reached his headquarters in safety.

**Second Battle
of Newbury,
Oct., 1644.**

There were some considerations which militated against the complete triumph of the Roundheads. There was little cohesion in the army, the forces being raised locally and the several captains being independent. Also, men like Essex and Manchester, noblemen with hereditary claims to command, were hopeful that Charles would be prevailed upon to establish Presbyterianism, and were becoming half-hearted in the fight. Further, military efficiency was not the only avenue to authority and command. To remedy these evils, Cromwell and Vane passed through Parliament the Self-Denying Ordinance, by which all members of Parliament were to give up their commands. Sir Thomas Fairfax was then placed at the head of the army, and Cromwell, being reappointed on account of his brilliant leadership, became his lieutenant-general. The army was re-organised by the "New Model" Ordinance, made into one whole, thoroughly drilled, and well paid.

**Self-Denying
Ordinance,
and the "New
Model" Army,
1645.**

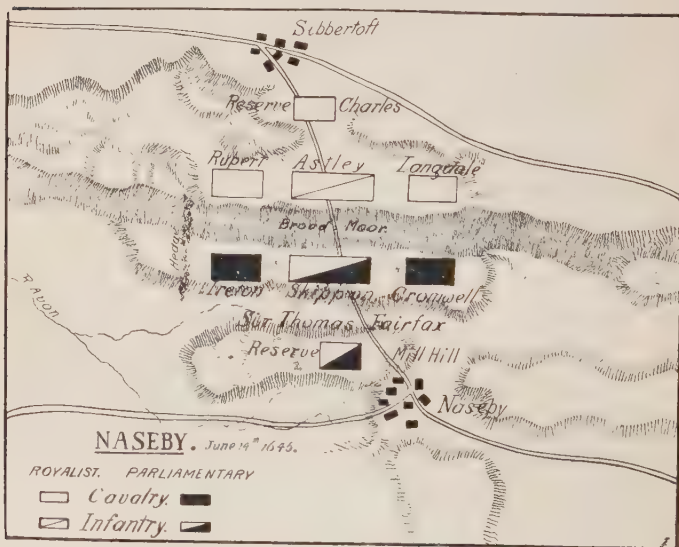
The soldiers of the "New Model" army, mostly Independents, proved their valour and efficiency at their first trial of strength.

This was at Naseby in Northamptonshire, on June 14, 1645. Rupert routed Ireton on the left and pursued him. Cromwell and his Ironsides on the right brushed aside the Cavaliers, and, as at Marston Moor, brought his flashing sword to the assistance of the infantry in the centre. The Royalists crumbled. The end was not far distant.

**Naseby,
June, 1645.**

A flash of hope appeared in the north, but soon vanished. In

Scotland the Marquis of Montrose, who had hitherto sided with the Presbyterians, disliked the predominance of Argyle **Philiphaugh,** and the Campbells. He therefore changed sides, and **Sept., 1645.** won a series of victories over the Covenanters or Scottish Presbyterians. But at *Philiphaugh* he succumbed to David Leslie, and his promising career received a check. The Covenanters were once more supreme.



At Rowton Heath Cromwell once more scattered the Royalists, in September. His guns then played on the walls of the ancient city of Chester, and forced it to surrender, (February, 1646). Charles's choice now lay between flight and submission. He chose the latter, and in May threw himself on the mercy of the Scots at Newark. The two last places to hold out for him were in Wales. In the south Raglan did not submit till August, 1646. Oxford had capitulated in June. When Harlech surrendered in March, 1647, the First Civil War came to an end. Worst of on the battlefield, Charles found some hope in Parliamentary factions.

Events now enter on a new phase. The Presbyterians were in a majority in Parliament. Cromwell and the Independents were the mainstay of the army. The cleavage between Presbyterian and Independent. the two factions had become pronounced with the passing of the Self-Denying Ordinance; and subsequent events had emphasised it. The Presbyterians wished to impose religious uniformity on Presbyterian lines, and stamp out freedom of conscience. In this they were as intolerant as Laud. The Independents, on the other hand, wanted liberty to worship as they pleased, and had as little love for the presbyter as for the priest. Further, the Scots had been brought into the field with the object of enforcing Presbyterianism in England, whereas the brilliant achievements of Cromwell at Marston Moor gave the Independents unexpected prominence. Therefore, when Charles surrendered to the Scots, he had bright hopes of being able to play the Presbyterians against the Independents to his own advantage.

The Parliament made its proposals to Charles in July. These were embodied in the "Newcastle Propositions." Presbyterianism was to be established in England and Episcopacy abolished; Parliament was to have control over the Newcastle Propositions. army and navy for twenty years; and the recusancy laws were to be enforced. If Charles had accepted the Covenant, the Scots would have drawn their swords for him, and King, Scots and Parliament would have joined hands against Cromwell and his "Independent" Ironsides. He refused to yield on the question of Episcopacy, and remained a hostage in the hands of the Scots. Having received the arrears of their pay, they handed him over to the Parliament, and retired across the borders in January, 1647. Charles thereupon was placed in Holmby House in Northamptonshire.

Meanwhile Parliament had set up Presbyterianism in England, to the exclusion of every other form of religion, and a "Directory" replaced the Prayer-Book. This was the work of the Westminster Assembly of Divines which, while The Army seizes the King. it intrigued with Charles on more favourable terms to the monarchy, and made covert negotiations with the Scots for armed assistance to quash the Independents, treated the army with insolent ingratitude. It was proposed to disband them without paying the arrears of pay, and to recast the army with a view to the predominance of Presbyterians. In such currents of trickery

the army became restive, and Cromwell apprehensive. Quick to appreciate the value of the King's person, he sent a troop of horse under Cornet Joyce to seize Charles for the army. Having secured him, Cromwell marched on London and placed him in Hampton Court.

The army now put forward their own proposals, embodied in the "Heads of the Proposals." They were more moderate than the terms of the Presbyterians, for Charles might continue **"Heads of the Proposals,"** Episcopacy so long as he guaranteed toleration to the Independents; control of the army was vested in Parliament for ten years. Cromwell strove to prevent a rupture between the army and Parliament, and to smooth the differences between both and Charles. But Charles would be satisfied with nothing less than a complete restoration of his prerogative, rejected these terms, and escaped in November to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight. Thus to trifle with a triumphant army that asked for nothing more than religious toleration was a monstrous imprudence. This was not all. He was playing a sinister game of intrigue and double-dealing, temporising and dallying with the army's proposals, while he negotiated with the Scots, Parliament, and his friends at home and abroad.

These deceitful transactions enraged Cromwell, exasperated his soldiers, and convinced all that Charles's word could not be relied upon; that he was not to be trusted—an ominous conclusion in men of such fierce religious scruples. Their cup of wrath overflowed when the King made a futile attempt to escape to the Continent after coming to an agreement, called "The Engagement," with the Scots, by which Presbyterianism was to be established for three years, the Independents persecuted as heretics, and Charles restored. In the army an extreme party called the "Levellers" had risen, who **The Levellers.** frankly avowed that the deposition of Charles was their only remedy. These were inflamed, and all were hardened in their hearts at Charles's incurable duplicity. It was evident that the sword must once more be unsheathed, now between Charles and the Presbyterians on the one hand, and Cromwell and the Independents on the other. The former had Parliament on their side, the latter the Army. Thus was started the Second Civil War.

Already in 1647 when the differences between Parliament and the

Army threatened to end in a rupture, the Royalists of Glamorgan had assembled at Llandaff, only to be scattered by **Battle of St. Fagan's, April, 1648.** Laugharne, who swooped down upon them from Carmarthen. The prospects of the army were dark when Laugharne deserted and put himself at the head of the opponents of Cromwell and marched triumphantly as far as Cardiff. Laugharne was a Presbyterian. His success was due to the extreme aversion of the Welsh to the ideas of the Independents. Laugharne now united Presbyterian and Catholic feeling. Horton, who had been sent down by Fairfax, met him at St. Fagan's, a little to the west of Cardiff, and after a fierce and stubborn fight compelled him to retreat on Pembroke and Tenby. (See Ch. IV.)

The rising in Wales had a profound effect in England, and Cromwell himself was sent to deal with it, while Fairfax attacked Colchester, the centre of resistance in the eastern counties. How long would the siege of Pembroke last? Colchester was holding out at one end of the country, and Pembroke at the other. The Scots under Hamilton had entered England, and were marching on London. Cromwell found Pembroke "a very desperate enemy," and the country around was uncompromisingly hostile. But on July 11 it surrendered. Cromwell then marched to meet the Scots. Not far from Preston he crushed them in detail, Hamilton yielding on August 25. Three days later Colchester surrendered, and the Second Civil War was virtually at an end.

Even while these events were in progress, the Presbyterian majority in Parliament were negotiating with Charles, to the detriment of the army. It was only too evident to Cromwell that neither King nor Parliament could be trusted. **Pride's Purge.** The time for negotiation and compromise had gone by. In November the army demanded the trial of the King, some reforms in the franchise, and the dissolution of the Long Parliament. The Presbyterian majority in Parliament made no reply. Whereupon Fairfax ordered the King to be brought from Carisbrooke Castle, and Colonel Pride with a troop of soldiers went down to the House and excluded the Presbyterian members. This is known as "Pride's Purge," a proceeding for which Cromwell was not responsible, though he sanctioned it. What was left of the Long Parliament was called in derision the "Rump." It immediately resolved that Charles should be brought to trial on the charge

The Rump.

of having caused unnecessary bloodshed in the Second Civil War, and a High Court of Justice was appointed to try him. Among those who sat on the trial were Col. John Jones, M.P. for Merionethshire, and Thomas Wogan, M.P. for Cardiganshire.

The trial began on January 20, 1649. Charles would not admit the jurisdiction of the Court, and refused to plead. But the court assumed absolute right, and a week later he was condemned to death. Two days later, on January 29, 1649, the tragedy ended on a scaffold before his own palace at Whitehall. His death sent a thrill of horror throughout the land. It was a crime in that the Rump which decreed it had no right to speak for the nation as a whole; and a calamity in that it rebounded with disastrous effect upon those on behalf of whom it was perpetrated.

CHIEF DATES.

Petition of Right	1628
Wentworth, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	1633
Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury	1633
Trial of John Hampden	1637
Opening of the Long Parliament	1640
Root and Branch Bill	1641
Irish Rebellion	1641
Grand Remonstrance	1641
First Civil War	1642 1646
Solemn League and Covenant	1643
Marston Moor	1644
Self-Denying Ordinance	1645
Naseby	1645
Second Civil War	1648
Pride's Purge	1648
Death of Charles I	1649

NOTES.

1. Buckingham, 1625-1628.

(A) As a favourite of James I. Courteous and dissolute. Journey to Madrid.

(B) Under Charles.

(a) Foreign policy. War with France brought about by the personal animosity between Buckingham and Richelieu. Expedition to La Rochelle, 1627. War with Spain. Expedition to Cadiz, 1625.

(b) Home policy. Consisted in making Charles an absolute monarch. This absolutism manifested itself in—

- (i) Raising money without consent of Parliament by benevolences, forced loans, tunnage and poundage, and compelling the ports to supply ships.
- (ii) Arbitrary imprisonment, e.g. Darnell's Case, 1627.
- (iii) Billeting soldiers in private houses.
- (iv) Proclaiming martial law.

The struggle involved the sudden dissolution of the first two Parliaments so as to save Buckingham, who was impeached. But Charles was pressed for money, and in the Third Parliament passed the—

Petition of Right (June, 1628). It made Charles's arbitrary acts (i-iv above) illegal. In August Buckingham was murdered. N.B. the part played by Eliot.

2. Charles's Personal Rule. A tyranny. 1629-1640.

The King's chief instruments during these years were—

- (a) Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. His system of "Thorough" put into operation, first in the North, as President of the Council; then in Ireland. It is probable that he would have used his Irish troops to terrorise England into submission, as he had done in Ireland.

- (b) Star Chamber and High Commission Courts. N.B. the sentences passed on Prynne and Burton (1637). They were used to coerce ruthlessly any who opposed Charles's tyranny and his methods of raising money.

1637. Hampden and ship money.

- (c) Laud. Tried to force on the country an intolerant system of uniformity, which embraced the ornate ritual ceremonies and practices of the Church of Rome. He looked forward to a reunion with Rome. Advocated the same system of "Thorough" in religion as Wentworth in Ireland. His attitude towards Scotland brought the tyranny to a head. The attempt to force the Liturgy on the Scots (1637) led to the National League and Covenant (1638); and the two Bishops' Wars.

1640. Battle of Newburn. Treaty of Berwick.

Charles was compelled to summon the Short Parliament (April-May, 1640); and the Long Parliament (November, 1640).

3. The Long Parliament, 1640-1653. Chief acts.—

1641. Feb. *Triennial Act*.

- (i) Parliament not to sit for more than three years.
- (ii) Not more than three years to elapse between two successive Parliaments.

May. Execution of Strafford by a Bill of Attainder.

July. Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission abolished.

Root and Branch Bill. To abolish Episcopacy. It was eventually dropped.

The Grand Remonstrance.

- (i) To appoint ministers who enjoyed the confidence of Parliament.
- (ii) That Church questions should be settled by a synod of divines.

It was another attempt to do away with Bishops, and gave the King a strong party in the Commons. The chief of these was Edward Hyde, who afterwards became Earl of Clarendon.

1642. The attempt to arrest the "Five Members."

The *Nineteen Propositions*, e.g. (i) Control of the Militia; (ii) Reform of the Church; (iii) Control over royal Ministers. August. The Civil War or *Great Rebellion* began.

1643. Sept. The *Solemn League and Covenant* with the Scots. In accordance with this agreement, the "*Westminster Assembly of Divines*" made the Church of England a Calvinistic or Presbyterian Church, 1643-1649. The *Directory* replaced the Prayer-Book as the book of worship.

1645. The *Self-Denying Ordinance*.

1648. Dec. *Pride's Purge*—the expulsion of the Presbyterian members of Parliament, when they proposed to negotiate with Charles. The remnant of the Long Parliament became known as the *Rump*.

1649. Appointment of a High Court of Justice to try Charles.

1653. Cromwell expels the Rump.

1660. The Long Parliament was restored by Monk, and dissolved itself in order to summon a new freely-elected Parliament.

4. Technical Terms.

The Tables, 1637. A body of ten commissioners representing all classes in Scotland, appointed to lead the opposition against Charles.

Documental Covenant, 1638. A document signed by the Scots to defend their religion, Presbyterianism, against the Episcopalian system of Laud. Distinguish it from the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643. Hence *Covenanters*.

The Incident, 1641. A conspiracy to arrest Argyle and the Presbyterian leaders in Scotland during Charles's visit.

The "New Model." The Parliamentary army as re-organised by Cromwell. It consisted mainly of Independents.

The "Cessation," 1643. An agreement suspending hostilities in Ireland so that the Irish army could cross and assist Charles.

Heads of the Proposals, 1647. A scheme drawn up by Cromwell and the army to arrange terms with Charles. It was the most tolerant and comprehensive of all the proposals for a settlement, viz. complete religious toleration to all except Catholics; biennial parliaments; parliament to control the army and navy for ten years.

The Engagement, 1648. A treaty between the Scots, led by Argyle, and Charles; by which the Scots were to assist Charles against Cromwell and the army, on condition that Presbyterianism be established. A new "free" parliament to be called. It led to the Second Civil War.

Levellers. Extreme republican section of the army.

Agitators. The representatives of the army who watched over its interests in the interval between the First and Second Civil Wars.

They were responsible for drawing up the "Agreement of the People," a democratic scheme of government.

5. Wales and the Civil War.

Note the following points—

- (i) Why Wales was Royalist.
- (ii) 1642-1644. Welsh infantry in England (Edgehill, etc.). The work of Gerard (R.), Laugharne (P.) in South Wales, and Myddleton (P.) in North Wales. First Siege of Pembroke. Battle of *Montgomery*.
- (iii) 1645. Campaigns of Gerard and Laugharne. Royalist victory at Newcastle Emlyn; and a Parliamentary victory at *Colby Moor*.
- (iv) 1645. Charles's visit to Cardiff, and the complaints of the Welsh against Gerard and the Cavaliers. Why the Welsh were alienated. Raglan and Harlech were the two last places to submit to the Roundheads.
- (v) 1648. The Second Civil War. The Battle of St. Fagan's. Horton defeats Laugharne. The second siege of Pembroke by Cromwell.
- (vi) Lord Keeper John Williams (Archbishop of York).

Of those who endeavoured to persuade Charles to adopt a compromise between absolutism and Parliamentary government, between the rigid High Church conformity of Laud and the beliefs of the Puritans, none were wiser or more loyal than John Williams, who became Lord Keeper after Bacon. He had been at variance with the rash and arrogant foreign policy of Buckingham, and had counselled a more pacific policy. His advice was not listened to. Civil War became inevitable when Charles refused to listen to his advice. Nevertheless when war broke out he stood loyally by his King and held his native town, Conway, against the Parliamentary forces. His defence, however, was of little service against the irresistible progress of Myddleton, because the fleet being under the control of the officers of Parliament, no supplies could reach the town from Ireland. After the rout of Charles's troops at Rowton Heath and the fall of Chester, he submitted to Myddleton.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE. 1649-1660

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES :—

France. Louis XIV (1643-1715).

Spain. Philip IV (1621-1665).

Difficulties of the Commonwealth—Cromwell's Irish policy—Dunbar and Worcester—The Navigation Act—First Dutch War—Dissolution of the Long Parliament—Barebone's Parliament—The Instrument of Government—The Protectorate—Cromwell's religious policy—Major-Generals—Humble Petition and Advice—Cromwell's foreign policy—Blake—Richard Cromwell—Monk—The Convention.

WITH the execution of Charles the monarchy fell into abeyance, and the House of Lords was done away with. The only legislative authority left was the Rump. This assembly, in May 1649, declared England a Republic or Commonwealth. A Council of State, consisting of about forty members, was set up to do the real work of administration. The stability of the Commonwealth, however, rested entirely with the army. The soldiers would have preferred a more democratic assembly than the Rump, which could not be said to represent the people of England ; with that object they brought forward the "Agreement of the People," in which it was proposed to give Wales thirty-five members. The Rump, with calm assurance, repudiated it, and remained in power till 1653. They may have thought that to summon a new Parliament would hazard the existence of the Commonwealth. Meanwhile the army had more serious work elsewhere.

Within the army there existed an extreme Republican faction, the Levellers. Their demands being resisted they mutinied, and the sedition would have assumed an ugly aspect had not Cromwell, with characteristic energy suppressed it. Another more subtle danger came from the Royalists. Christopher Love, of Cardiff, one of the most aggressive of the Presbyterians, was put to death

for conspiring to put Charles II on the throne. The nation recoiled from the tragedy of the fallen monarch. In the breasts of the people generous sympathy replaced condemnation of his evil deeds ; and a little book entitled *Eikon Basilike*—"the Kingly Image"—which professed to give the thoughts and prayers of Charles during his imprisonment, roused a deep feeling of hostility against the govern-

(ii) **Royalists.** ment. So much so that the great poet John Milton, the Secretary of State, replied to it in *Eikonoklastes*, or "the Image-breaker." Moreover part of the fleet actually revolted, while Prince Rupert carried on a privateering warfare until put down by Blake. Thirdly, Ireland and Scotland presented difficulties on a larger scale.

For the moment hostile parties in Ireland, that had in recent years reduced the country to anarchy, found common cause against

(iii) **Ireland.** the Commonwealth. The Earl of Ormond contrived to unite the Protestant settlers and the more moderate

Irish Catholics on behalf of the Prince of Wales, who was proclaimed King as Charles II. Ormond besieged Dublin. Shortly afterwards, in August, the Governor of Dublin, Michael Jones, scattered Ormond's troops and forced him to seek refuge in Drogheda. Meanwhile Cromwell had arrived as Lord Lieutenant. His strokes were terrific. In September he took Drogheda and put the garrison to the sword. Next month Wexford was taken, and like Drogheda,

Cromwell's Methods. bathed in blood. Beneath his stern measures all resistance crumbled. The country trembled ; garrison after garrison surrendered, Cromwell's grim

severity preventing much unnecessary bloodshed. Catholics and Protestants dissolved their alliance, and early in 1650 Cromwell was able to leave the completion of the conquest to Ireton and his lieutenants. He tried to settle the country on the same lines as his predecessors : he confiscated the lands of the Irish Catholics and sold them at low prices to Protestant settlers. Animated by deep religious feeling, he associated the Catholicism of the Irish with idolatry, intolerance and outrage ; while the massacres of 1641 were still vivid in his memory. Catholicism was therefore

His Irish Settlement. suppressed. The Irish parliament, like that of Scotland later, was abolished. Instead, Irish representatives

were to sit at Westminster, but only the Protestants of Ireland were represented. The Irish regarded Cromwell as a tyrant, whose policy did nothing to ameliorate their embittered feelings against England.

In 1650 Col. John Jones, a member of the Council of State, was sent over to govern the country with the Lord-Deputy. During the four years of his administration he "discharged his trust with great diligence, ability, and integrity."

Col. John Jones.

As a republican he disapproved of Cromwell's assumption of the title of Protector, though he was afterwards appeased when given Cromwell's sister Catherine in marriage. He was in Ireland again in 1659 in command of the Irish forces. His support of Lambert caused him to be arrested by Monk's officers in December, 1659.

There was urgent need for Cromwell's return. Scotland was in the hands of Argyle and the Covenanters. Prince Charles was in Holland with his brother-in-law. Argyle wished

(iv) Scotland.

Charles to accept the throne of Scotland, but on the terms of the Covenanters. Charles was loth to yield to their rigid Presbyterianism, and persuaded the Marquis of Montrose to land and rouse the country. This gallant officer was overwhelmed by Argyle, betrayed and put to death. Charles, preferring a throne encumbered by the restraints of zealots, to poverty and exile, accepted Argyle's conditions and returned in June, 1650. In the following January he was crowned. But his throne had already received an unwelcome shock at Dunbar.

Cromwell had crossed the border in July, 1650. The command should have fallen to Fairfax, the Commander-in-chief. He refused and resigned. Cromwell therefore became Lord-General.

Dunbar,

Sept. 3, 1650.

After some skirmishing he was forced to fall back on Dunbar. That brilliant soldier David Leslie, Cromwell's erstwhile comrade in arms, commanded the Scots, and had taken up an impregnable position on the surrounding hills. Cromwell with fewer troops awaited the attack. Suddenly, he saw his enemy abandoning their strongly fortified position. It was a false move, and Cromwell, with unwavering religious faith, exclaimed, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hand." A flank attack gave him a striking victory. The Scots were completely annihilated, their losses being terrible.

The winter months were spent in negotiation, while Charles was crowned at Scone. In the summer Cromwell advanced northwards and took Perth. Leslie was posted near Stirling.

Worcester,

Sept. 3, 1651.

Cromwell had cut Leslie's communications with the Royalist Highlands, but in doing so he had left the

road to England open. Thereupon Leslie took the bold course of invading England. Charles accompanied him, and reasonably counted on the active support of the English Royalists. He was disappointed. Nowhere was he hailed with delight, for the English had already learnt to respect the might of Cromwell. Marching along the Welsh border, his father's favourite recruiting ground, he reached Worcester on August 22. Cromwell having followed in close pursuit, confronted him there on September 3, 1651, the anniversary of Dunbar. Once more Cromwell's consummate generalship prevailed. The Scots were crushed and scattered to the winds. It was Cromwell's "crowning mercy." Charles, after many hair-breadth escapes, reached the Continent in safety.

Shortly afterwards Argyle, the leader of the Presbyterians, submitted to Monk. Scotland was then incorporated, and like Ireland became part of a British Commonwealth, with representatives in the Parliament at Westminster. The national Parliament of the Scots was abolished.

**Scotland
subdued.**

Presbyterianism remained the religion of the Scots; but the Assembly of the Scottish Church was to have no political weight; and, what was unknown before, toleration was granted to other Puritans. Also free trade was established between the two countries.

While Cromwell brushed aside the enemies of the Commonwealth on land, Blake swept them from the seas. Rupert, from the Isle of Man, the Scilly Isles, and the Channel Islands, with a fleet of privateers had for some time been a source of danger to British commerce. Blake by his brilliant seamanship cleared him out, built up a strong navy, and made the fleet a powerful complement to the Commonwealth army. This was necessary, for England was about to grapple with Holland, the first maritime power of the day.

The Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, which brought the Thirty Years' War to an end, recognised the division of the Low Countries into (1)

Holland, which became an independent State, and (2) the southern or Spanish Netherlands. Holland, like England, was Protestant. Also, both were Republics.

**England and
Holland.**

Further, the Princess Mary was married to William of Orange, Stadtholder of the Dutch. He died in 1650. But this connection with the Stuarts, though it may have enlisted the sympathy of the English people with the Dutch, engendered hostility between the two Governments. There was further cause of estrangement in

that Holland, like other European States, refused to acknowledge the ambassadors of the new Government in England. Moreover, the English insisted on the Dutch saluting the British ensign in the Channel.

But what the Dutch regarded with the deepest and most violent resentment was the Navigation Act of 1651. They had built up an enormous carrying trade between England, the

The Navigation Act, 1651.

Continent, and the New World, and the merchants of the little Republic had accumulated great wealth. The Navigation Act struck at the very root of this prosperity; for it declared that henceforth goods were not to be brought into England except in English ships or in the ships of the country to which the goods belonged. Further, only English ships were to export English goods. Besides being a deadly blow at the material welfare of the Dutch, it tended to crush their sea-power, and build up that of England. Some months previously the Dutch themselves had sought to injure English shipping by a treaty with Denmark, whence England obtained material for shipping. This commercial strife was embittered when some English privateers claimed the right of search in the Channel and boarded a Dutch ship. War then became inevitable.

Hostilities commenced in 1652, when Blake and Van Tromp came into collision off Dover. The famous Dutch admiral had under

The First Dutch War, 1652-1654.

him the most daring of seamen and captains; and at first the splendid fleets of Holland more than held their own. Blake, however, had already proved himself a master in handling ships. Early in 1653 he and Monk defeated Van Tromp off Portland; and again in July, Monk defeated him in a three days' fight in the Channel, and the famous Dutch admiral was killed. When peace was concluded in 1654 the supremacy of the British was recognised in home waters; the Dutch were to salute the British flag and give no help to the Royalists. Dutch commerce had suffered very heavily, and a powerful rival had risen to contest its supremacy.

At home, misfortune dogged all the attempts of the Commonwealth to find a satisfactory solution of the many warring elements, in spite of its military and naval glory. Parliament

The Rump and the Army.

still consisted of the Rump, which had long since ceased to represent the nation. Though it was unpopular, it possessed unbounded self-esteem, and was deaf to

any reasonable reforms. Without the army it could not have lasted a day. Real power lay with Cromwell, who was honestly desirous of summoning a representative assembly, provided such representatives were loyal to the Commonwealth. But the Rump with unwarranted presumption chose to ignore the wishes of the Army, believing themselves best fit to rule. When advised to call a new Parliament, they brought in a "Perpetuation Bill," by which they were not only to retain their seats in the new Parliament, but also

**Dissolution
of the Long
Parliament,
April, 1653.**

to have the right to reject any representatives unfavourable to their views. Such gross iniquity exhausted Cromwell's patience. He hurried down to the House with a body of soldiers, and entered alone. Aflame with passion, he strode up and down the floor of the House, flashing on all sides words of burning rebuke. Then at the word of command his soldiers entered to clear the assembly. "It is not fit that you should sit here any longer," he exclaimed, and, pointing to the mace, the emblem of parliamentary government, cried out, "What shall we do with this bauble? Take it away." Thus ended the Long Parliament, which had sat since 1640.

The expulsion of the Rump left supreme power with the army; and Cromwell, as its Lord-General, became nothing short of a mili-

**Barebone's
Parliament,
July, 1653.**

tary despot, a position he did not covet. He therefore put forward a new method of representation. Members were to be chosen for their godliness rather than for their experience of men and things. The Independent churches were called upon to send in a list of nominees, and from their number Cromwell and his officers chose 140 representatives, who were to constitute the highest authority in the land. Wales was represented by six members. The experiment collapsed utterly. The nominees were unpractical and, with the best possible motives, mooted wild schemes of reform which provoked hostility and contempt on all sides. Before the end of the year Cromwell himself put an end to the farce. One of the London members was named "Praise-God Barebone," and this "Assembly of Nominees" was christened in derision, "Barebone's Parliament." Supreme authority once more reverted to Cromwell.

A few days later the council of army officers presented a new scheme called the "Instrument of Government," which Cromwell accepted. According to the "Instrument" Cromwell was to be Lord Protector. He was to be

**The Instru-
ment of
Government.**

assisted by a Council of State—a check upon the exercise of arbitrary power on the part of the Protector. Its members were to hold office for life. A Parliament was called consisting of about 400 members; it was to meet at least once every three years, and sit for five months. Each Welsh shire returned two members except Monmouthshire, which sent three, and Merionethshire which sent only one. Parliament, while it sat, remained the supreme authority in legislation and taxation; it could annul the ordinances of the Protector and the Council. Such was the new constitution, called the Protectorate. It could not be denied that with the army at his back, Cromwell could over-awe this Parliament, were it to prove unfit to rule. But he had not coveted this lofty position. The political necessities of the hour thrust it upon him, as the only safeguard

The Protectorate, 1653-1658. against anarchy and the restoration of the Stuarts. Nor did he wield his authority for personal aggrandisement, but rather to rescue England from confusion at home, disrespect abroad, and to place her in the front rank among the nations of Europe.

The first Protectorate Parliament met in September, 1654. It was elected on a new principle, according to which population became the basis of representation. Some of the members immediately insisted on discussing the new constitution, with a view to curtailing the powers of the Protector and increasing those of Parliament. Cromwell would have no such discussion, and exacted a pledge from the members not to alter the existing constitution, as set forth in the Instrument of Government. A hundred members who refused were excluded. Even those that remained attempted to amend it and to introduce extreme military and religious changes. Therefore when its full term of five months came to an end Cromwell dissolved it. Some time would elapse before another need be summoned; meanwhile Cromwell and the Council could act unfettered.

Cromwell's religious system was more comprehensive than any that had gone before. He was in favour of a Church supported by the State, the revenues of church lands and the tithes to be applied to religion and education. The three chief Nonconformist sects, the Presbyterians, Baptists and Independents, held most of the livings, but Episcopalians were not excluded so long as they remained loyal to the Commonwealth, and did not use the Prayer-Book. But he would have godly men.

Religious Policy.

He therefore set up a Board of "Triers" to inquire into the fitness and loyalty of ministers, "Ejectors" being appointed in each county to remove the unworthy. Roman Catholics he could not tolerate; penal laws threatened even Episcopalians. Jews, for the first time since the thirteenth century, were allowed to have their own synagogues.

In spite of toleration and strong government, Cromwell's enemies were many and various. On the one hand the Protectorate was distasteful to the Fifth Monarchy men, those who **The Major-Generals, 1655.** believed that only the saints or the elect—the vicegerents of Christ's monarchy—should rule. Then there were extreme Republicans who saw in Cromwell a king, except in name. The Cavaliers, too, were bitterly hostile. Plots against Cromwell's life were frequent. There was a Royalist rising at Salisbury under one Penruddock, after the suppression of which the Chief Justice, Sir John Glynne of Carnarvonshire, was sent to try the insurgents. More stringent measures became necessary to ensure peaceful government. Cromwell therefore divided England and Wales into ten districts, each with a Major-General as governor, whose rule was just, if rigorous. But it was military, and as such at variance with the traditions of England, and as unpopular with the nation as it was repulsive to the Protector himself, for he continued to hope that one day he would be able to rule through a freely-elected Parliament.

The financial demands of his energetic foreign policy compelled Cromwell to summon the Second Protectorate Parliament in 1656.

Humble Petition and Advice, 1657. His initial task was to purge it of its most outspoken members, who were dissatisfied with the constitution.

It then worked more harmoniously than its predecessors. Supplies were voted. The laws against Episcopalians became more severe. The Major-Generals were withdrawn, an act which gave general satisfaction. More important was the new scheme of government which Parliament framed, embodied in what was called the "Humble Petition and Advice," adopted in June, 1657. A new House of Lords was created, consisting of seventy peers nominated by Cromwell, but subject to the approval of the House of Commons. It was called the "Other House." It was at first proposed to bestow on Cromwell the title of King, which he refused in deference to the extreme section of the army. He, however, accepted the right of nominating his successor. Other innova-

tions according to the scheme were (1) the extension of toleration to Episcopalians ; (2) the Protector was not to have the right of excluding members.

The old constitution was thus practically restored. No sooner was it launched than the Commons attacked the powers of the new **Parliament dissolved, 1658.** House of Lords, and assailed even the position of Cromwell himself. It was clear that government by constitutional methods, and by the consent of the people, had become impossible ; Cromwell therefore promptly dissolved Parliament.

The Civil War had proved that England possessed an army such as she had never trained before. The Dutch War had shown that she possessed a navy that commanded respect, and **Cromwell's Foreign Policy.** in Blake an admiral of little less capacity than the great Elizabethan hero, Drake. At the head of this military and naval power was a ruler of consummate genius. What attitude should he assume in European affairs ? His strongest **His strongest Motive.** motive was Protestantism. He would have liked to see the Protestant States leagued together in defence against the two great Catholic Powers, France and Spain. Therefore in April, 1654, he made peace with the Dutch on very satisfactory terms, and made commercial treaties with Denmark and Sweden. On the same principle of action, when the Duke of Savoy massacred his Protestant subjects, the Vaudois or Waldenses of the south of France, Cromwell intervened successfully on their behalf, and Mazarin, the minister of Louis XIV, promised restitution. This was in October, 1655. Nevertheless a Protestant League was but a dream, for after the Treaty of Westphalia religion became a minor consideration in continental alliances.

Cromwell, therefore, had to choose between France and Spain, which were at war. He had a true appreciation of the material **Why Cromwell allied with France, 1657.** welfare of his country, a keen desire to extend English commerce, and a close interest in colonial development. Such objects were incompatible with a Spanish alliance, and were bound to bring England and Spain to blows. For Spain was so fanatically Papist that it would not allow English merchants to worship as they pleased while they remained in Spanish ports, but would bring them before the Inquisition ; nor would it allow freedom of trade with the Spanish main and the West Indies. Cromwell refused to acknowledge such restrictions on

English commerce. He had sent Penn and Venables to attack the Spanish colonies as early as 1654. They met with a reverse in trying to take Hispaniola; but seized Jamaica in 1655 and contrived to hold it. This was the first English colony seized from a foreign power. Its capture led immediately to open declaration of war between Spain and England. England and France came to a formal alliance in 1657.

Other circumstances had provoked open hostilities with Spain. Blake had been cruising in the Mediterranean, making his name a

Blake, 1654–1657. terror to the pirates of the north coast of Africa, and relieving Spanish treasure ships of their valuable cargoes.

In April, 1657, he won a notable victory in the harbour of Santa Cruz off Teneriffe, sinking a fleet of sixteen Spanish treasure ships without losing a vessel. A few months later he died on his way home. He was one of our most brilliant captains. Then in accordance with the Anglo-French alliance, a force of 6,000

Battle of the Dunes, 1658. troops crossed over to Flanders to assist the French against Spain. In June, 1658, the Spaniards were

beaten at the Battle of the Dunes, and the victory resulted in the capture of Dunkirk, which was handed over to the English. Soon afterwards Spain was glad to make peace.

Cromwell's foreign policy was conceived on right lines. War with Spain was dictated by religious, commercial and colonial considerations. France would have been as dangerous as an

Results of the French Alliance. enemy as she was powerful as an ally. However, the immediate effect of the alliance was to give that country enormous predominance, and make her a menace to the peace of Europe and to Protestantism. This could hardly have happened if Cromwell had lived; or if his successor, Charles II, had not been so subservient to Louis XIV.

On September 3, 1658, the anniversary of his dazzling achievements at Dunbar and Worcester, Cromwell died at the age of fifty-nine. He had first displayed his brilliant talents in

Death of Cromwell. organising the army of the Eastern Association. Then at Marston Moor and Naseby, he gave proof of his genius as a cavalry officer, and won the confidence of the army.

On the refusal of Fairfax to lead against the Scots he was given the chief command, a position he filled with striking results. After the death of Charles he was driven to assume arbitrary power to stave off anarchy; and he never shirked his responsibility. Nor did

he wield that power to tyrannise. In religion he was more tolerant than any ruler before him, and he became the champion of Protestantism on the Continent. He gave his country a bold commercial and colonial policy. Under him England became mistress of the seas. He also foreshadowed the complete union of Scotland and Ireland with England and Wales. But no estimate of Cromwell is true without emphasising that religion was the key to his character and policy, and, according to himself, the cause of his success. Unfortunately his successor was not fit for responsibility and command, so that Oliver's work in great part perished.

Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Protector on his father's death. The mainstay of Oliver's supremacy was the army, over which he wielded undisputed mastery. Richard had won no military fame, and had no liking for the turmoil of a political and military career. The army officers, therefore, ignored him, and wished to make Fleetwood their commander-in-chief with a position independent of both Protector and Parliament. Richard had courage enough to refuse this demand. But Parliament, too, raised difficulties. When it met in January, 1659, the extreme Republicans, led by Vane, questioned Richard's powers. Then in deference to Lambert and the army he dismissed Parliament in April, and The Rump was summoned once more. The members were as unpractical as when Oliver dismissed them in 1653; they had learnt nothing. They wished to abolish the Protectorate, and clamoured for a Republic. Richard, disgusted, threw up his position in May, and retired into private life. Realising the uncertain state of affairs, the country became restive. There was a royalist revolt in Cheshire, which Lambert easily suppressed. On his return he summarily dismissed the Rump as being hostile to the army and incapable of government (October, 1659).

The weakness of Lambert and the army officers was their inability to substitute another organised scheme of government; and in

Monk. December the remnant of the Long Parliament was once again summoned. This was unsatisfactory. Monk, who was in command of the Commonwealth Army in Scotland, realised the position, formed a design and dared to see it through. Bold, resolute action was imperative. Cautious, and with his secret concealed in his breast, he entered England in January, 1660, marching on London. On his way he met Fairfax, who was prepared to assist. Having reached the city, he insisted on a free Parliament, relying

on the fidelity of his army. The Rump were compelled to readmit those who had been expelled by Pride in 1648, Presbyterians who opposed the Commonwealth and the supremacy of the army. The Long Parliament was therefore once more in session. It made Monk general of the Army and dissolved itself.

In May a new Parliament met, called the Convention, because it was not summoned by royal writ. Overwhelmingly Royalist

**The Con-
vention.** in feeling, it decided in favour of the restoration of the Stuarts in the person of Prince Charles, declaring that "the government is and ought to be by King, Lords and Commons." On May 29, his birthday, Charles entered London amid universal manifestations of delight. Some time

**Declaration
of Breda.** previously he had signed the "Declaration of Breda," subject to the approval of Parliament. This document promised complete pardon to those who had taken part in the recent civil strife; religious toleration and liberty of worship; and a confirmation of confiscated estates to their present holders. The fundamental cause of the Restoration was

**Causes of the
Restoration.** that military rule was impossible without a man with unrivalled command over the Army; and there was no one to take Cromwell's place. The country generally had no liking for Puritanism; and the Puritan Rump was utterly incapable of government. Moreover, it represented the minority of the people. Much, too, was due to the skill and sagacity of the shrewd Monk, who had completely outwitted the civil and military authorities.

CHIEF DATES.

Conquest of Ireland	1649-1650
Battle of Dunbar	1650
Battle of Worcester	1651
Navigation Act	1651
First Dutch War	1652-1654
End of the Long Parliament	1653
Barebone's Parliament	1653
Instrument of Government	1653
Jamaica captured	1655
Humble Petition and Advice	1657
Battle of the Dunes	1658
Death of Cromwell	1658
Fall of Richard Cromwell	1659
The Restoration	1660

NOTES.

1. The Fifth Monarchy Men.

They believed that there had hitherto been four great empires, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman. It was now the fifth monarchy, that of Christ. Until His second coming the saints, as Christ's representatives, were to rule on earth.

2. Various forms of the Constitution.

(A) Under the Commonwealth.

(i) The Rump. Dissolved, 1653 (April).

(ii) Barebone's Parliament, or the Little Parliament. Consisted of 140 members chosen by Cromwell from nominees sent in by the Independents. Resigned its powers into Cromwell's hands, 1653 (December).

(B) Under the Protectorate.

(i) The Instrument of Government. By this Cromwell became ~~2~~² *Lord Protector* of the Commonwealth. He was to rule with a Council of 21. A Parliament of about 400 members, which alone could levy taxes, was triennial. It represented England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland. In force till 1657 (May).

The Major-Generals.

(ii) Humble Petition and Advice.

It established a new House of Lords. Cromwell rejecting the title of King, received the right to name his successor.

(iii) The Rump, 1659.

(iv) The Long Parliament, 1660.

(v) The Convention, 1660.

3. Foreign Policy.

(i) First Dutch War, 1652-1654.

Due chiefly to the Navigation Act (1651). The fleets were evenly matched. The Dutch admirals were Van Tromp and De Ruyter; the English, Blake and Monk. Ended with the Treaty of Westminster.

(ii) Cromwell champions the Protestant cause in Europe. Hence alliance with Denmark, and protection of the Vaudois against the persecution of the Duke of Savoy. Hence, also, war with Spain, 1655-1659.

Penn seizes Jamaica (1655); Blake's victory, 1657, at Santa Cruz, Teneriffe (one of the Canary Isles), and the Battle of the Dunes, 1658, in alliance with France. Dunkirk handed over to England (1659).

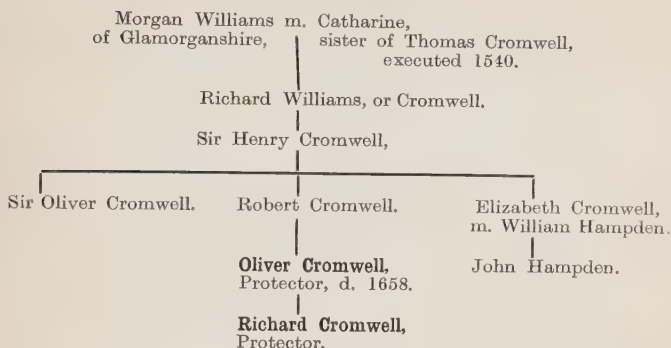
Justify Cromwell's alliance with France.

4. Vavasor Powel (1617-1670). (See Ch. IV.)

He is closely connected with the rise of Nonconformity in Wales. Born in Radnorshire in 1617. On leaving Oxford he received a living at Clun in Shropshire. Later he became a Puritan, joined the Baptists, and was made an itinerant preacher. Persecution under Charles I drove him to London in 1642, until the supremacy of the Roundheads gave him freedom to preach once more. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to

carry out the "Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales." His ideas were too Republican for Cromwell under the Protectorate, and he suffered further imprisonment. He died in a London dungeon in 1670.

CROMWELL'S FAMILY.



CHAPTER IV

WALES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE new system of local government established in Wales by the Tudors, together with the large amount of litigation which the introduction of primogeniture brought in its wake, provided ample scope for the activities of the Welsh gentry in the sphere of administration and law. They transferred to the Stuarts the enthusiastic loyalty which they had shown towards the Tudor sovereigns. Welshmen were educated at the universities in large numbers, and having distinguished themselves there, found high favour at Court and rose to positions of eminence. Welsh lawyers were among the most vigorous supporters of Stuart absolutism. The most celebrated was Judge Jeffreys, whose unscrupulous devotion to the cause of monarchy became notorious in subsequent generations. Sir Edward Herbert of Montgomery, who was Attorney-General to Charles I, afterwards became Clarendon's rival for the favour of Charles II. Sir John Glynne of Carnarvonshire conducted the impeachment of Strafford, and acted for the Crown in the impeachment of Sir Henry Vane in 1662. He established the precedent of granting a new trial on account of excessive damages given by a jury. Sir William Williams, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1679, became Solicitor-General to James II. Lord Keeper John Williams advocated a policy of compromise, which Charles I unhappily refused to follow.

The Welsh clergy, too, showed conspicuous zeal on behalf of the arbitrary government of the Stuarts and the High Church principles of Laud. Too engrossed in affairs of state, Laud, who became Bishop of St. David's in 1621, could give no attention to his Welsh diocese, though when he visited Wales in July, 1622, he presented the new chapel which he ordered to be built at Abergwili with rich communion plate. He gathered around him a number of devoted followers, chief among whom was his chaplain, Dr. Morgan Owen, who became Bishop of Llandaff in 1639. One of the charges brought against

Laud was that he connived at an image of the Blessed Virgin, with a babe in her arms, which Dr. Morgan Owen caused to be carved on the porch of St. Mary's Church, Oxford. Dr. John Owen, Bishop of St. Asaph (1629), had been chaplain to Charles I when Prince of Wales. He and Bishop Owen of Llandaff were among the twelve bishops who signed a protest against the action of the Long Parliament, for which they were put in the Tower. They were deprived of their sees on the outbreak of the Civil War.

While the gentry and higher clergy thus threw themselves into the turmoil of political and religious strife, only a few isolated efforts were made by them to inspire and train the lower clergy, or to educate the people in the manifold changes which were taking place. Bishop Owen of St.

The Welsh People

Asaph was active in pastoral work, and was the first to institute a series of Welsh sermons to be preached in the parish church the first Sunday of each month. Some years previously, in 1620, Bishop Parry of St. Asaph had published the Authorized Version of the Welsh Bible. In 1630 a portable edition of the Scriptures was issued for the people by two London Welshmen, Sir Thomas Myddleton and Rowland Heylin. These praiseworthy efforts failed to inspire the clergy, and the mass of the people remained indifferent, when they might have become the most fervid devotees of the Reformed religion. For the beauty of worship advocated by Laud, having much in common with Catholic ritual, was calculated to appeal to their traditional sentiments. That the mass of the people failed to cultivate a deep interest in the religious changes of the time was due partly to this indolence on the part of their spiritual advisers, who seldom preached, and passed most of their time in taverns; partly to the self-sacrificing zeal, the devotion, and the charity of the Catholic agents or Jesuits who laboured in secret. They appealed directly to the national prejudices of the Welsh, who consequently remained Papist at heart and cherished the old faith, though outwardly they conformed to the Church of England.

The silent campaigns of these Catholic missionaries, which had begun under Elizabeth, continued under the Stuarts until strangled by relentless persecution. In 1603 John and Edward

The Jesuits.

Bennett, natives of Flintshire, came over from Rome with a number of others to fortify their countrymen in the Catholic religion. Wales was created a separate province, and divided into two colleges. It was the centre of the Jesuit mission in Britain,

the head of which was Robert Jones of Raglan, the seat of the Catholic Marquis of Worcester. In 1610 John Robert of Merionethshire was tried under the statute which prohibited Roman Catholic priests from exercising their office in England. Another Welsh Catholic who laboured sedulously in South Wales was David Lewis, a native of Monmouthshire, who had been educated in the English College at Rome. He toiled unceasingly for nearly thirty years, visiting persecuted Catholics by night amid ever-present dangers until executed at Usk in 1679.

Among the Anglican clergy, however, there were a few imbued with a passionate desire to enlighten and uplift the people. The

most eminent of these was Rees Prichard, Vicar of Llandovery (The Old Vicar), who became Chancellor of St. David's in 1626. He was a preacher of wonderful power, often addressing the people in churchyards or on the hillsides, for the churches could not always accommodate the huge congregations which followed him. Such irregularities were an outrage on the religious conventionalism of the Church; while his religious fervour roused the enmity of his more indolent fellow-clergymen, who caused him to be charged before the ecclesiastical authorities. But the Vicar's fame rests less on his eloquence as a

Rees Prichard,
d. 1644.

preacher than on his original way of conveying Bible truths. This he did by means of homely stanzas in simple, vigorous phrases—sermons in verse which touched the hearts of his hearers. Two years after his death, in 1646, these stanzas were collected and published under the title of *Canwyll y Cymry*, or "The Welshman's Candle," although the first edition of the entire work did not appear till 1672. The work enjoyed immense popularity, the Vicar's stanzas being committed to memory in every corner of Wales, in consequence of which a great change was gradually effected in the behaviour and moral sense of the people. It is almost impossible to overestimate the influence of this book on the Welsh peasantry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. No less than fifteen editions of it appeared after 1672.

In spite of his Puritan tendencies Vicar Prichard throughout remained orthodox and loyal. There were other clergymen who boldly refused to conform to Laud's High Church system. In 1633 Walter Cradock, Curate at St. Mary's, Cardiff, was deprived of his cure for schismatic

William
Wroth,
1570-1642.

William Wroth, 1570-1642.

preaching. In the diocese of St. David's two clergymen, Roberts and Mathews, were similarly suppressed, the one in 1634 and the other in 1636. In 1638 William Erbury of Cardiff and William Wroth, rector of Llanvaches, near Chepstow, were expelled from their livings by the Court of High Commission for refusing to read in their Churches the "Declaration of Sports" issued in 1633, which authorized Sunday amusements under certain restrictions, and which Laud ordered to be read in all churches. In 1639 Wroth formed a separate congregation of Nonconformists at Llanvaches, and Erbury a few months later at Cardiff. The former was the first organised Nonconformist Church in Wales, although other Nonconformists appear to have congregated for worship at Olchon, on the borders, for some years previously.

Other Welshmen sought refuge from Laud's tyranny and wider scope for their abilities in the New World. The most distinguished of these was Roger Williams, a native of Carmarthen-

Roger Williams,
1599-1683.

shire, who had studied law under Sir Edward Coke. In 1631 he emigrated to America. At first he settled at Salem, in New England, whence he removed to Rhode Island in 1635. There he founded the town of Providence, which became the capital of the state of Rhode Island, and where was formed the first Baptist congregation in America. In 1639 he procured a charter for his new colony. He was the first legislator "that fully and effectually provided for and established absolute liberty of conscience."

Another Welshman who helped to build up our colonial Empire, though he left his native land not on account of religious perse-

Sir Henry
Morgan.

cution but from pure love of adventure, was Sir Henry Morgan, the Buccaneer, a member of the distinguished Tredegar family. He went out to the West Indies when a youth. He found plundering the Spaniards a profitable business, and met with so much success that he was placed in command of a fleet by the Governor of Jamaica to attack Spanish power in Cuba and Panama. On one occasion, in an attack on Panama, he took 3,000 prisoners and immense booty. His persistent attacks crippled Spanish power in the West Indies. For his exploits he was knighted by Charles II. Later he became Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, where he died in 1689.

One of the causes which brought about the Civil War was the religious policy of Laud. Another was the arbitrary rule of Charles I,

which manifested itself in forced loans, ship-money and other illegal exactions. The first demand for a forced loan in Wales, in 1626, appears to have failed; the merchants of Glamorgan complained that their ships had been destroyed by the Moorish pirates which infested the coasts

Wales and Ship-money.



of South Wales. During the next two years Charles met with a better response, although Monmouthshire and Cardiganshire refused supplies until authorised by Parliament. In 1634-5 Wales was called upon to contribute £9,000 in ship-money, and little or no objection was raised. For it was demanded on the pretext of defending the coast against pirates, and the judges at the Assizes everywhere declared its legality. Yet after the trial of John Hampden the country did not pay so readily, even Radnorshire, which had

hitherto shown exemplary loyalty, beginning to murmur. Cardiganshire boldly refused.

However, on the outbreak of hostilities Wales declared almost unanimously for the King. The clergy were, with few exceptions, loyal, and submitted to the High Church system of Wales in the Laud. The gentry, in so far as they were swayed by Civil War. religious considerations, preferred elaborate ritual to Puritan austerity. Further, they formed the official class in Wales, and were attached to the throne as the fountain of privilege. The peasants followed their lords. The numerous English pamphlets which circulated in order to enlighten public opinion had no influence upon them, a Welsh-speaking peasantry. Wales was too far from the centre of government to be able to judge between the contending issues. National conservatism and tradition, therefore, made the Welsh people blindly loyal. The only part of Wales which held out consistently for the Parliament was English Pembroke-shire, under the influence of Sir Hugh Owen, Laugharne and Poyer. The Marquis of Worcester, whose seat was at Raglan, was one of the richest nobles in the land, and placed his vast wealth at the service of Charles, whom he supplied with men and arms in abundance. The Earl of Carbery and his brother, Sir Henry Vaughan, in Carmarthenshire, the Bulkeleys of Anglesey, the Mostyns of Flintshire, the Prices of Breconshire, and Sir John Owen of Clenenau, were among the King's most ardent supporters.

From the commencement Wales played a most important part in the war. The Severn and the Dee formed the King's line of defence, while in the important towns of Hereford, Shrewsbury and Chester he had strongly fortified positions whence supplies were within easy reach of his headquarters at Oxford.

Importance of Wales. Behind these two rivers was a nation of enthusiastic Royalists who, had they been well armed, well drilled, and well generalled, might have decided the issue at an early stage. Beyond the sea was Ireland, also friendly, whose armies reached England through Beaumaris and Chester. It was, therefore, with deliberate purpose that Charles in 1642 marched from Nottingham to Shrewsbury, hoping here to assemble a powerful army with which he could march in triumph on London. He was immediately joined by the levies of Roger Mostyn and Salesbury. The trained bands of Flintshire and Denbighshire assembled at Wrexham. In North Wales Charles's indefatigable agent was Sir John Owen; in South

Wales the Marquis of Hertford represented the royal interests, though the task of collecting supplies devolved mainly on Lord Herbert, son of the Marquis of Worcester.

The first Royalist victory in Wales was the taking of Cardiff Castle, in 1642, by Lord Herbert. Unfortunately, dissensions soon arose between him and the Marquis of Hertford, for Herbert

had hoped to receive the commission in South Wales which had been given to his rival. But Herbert was a Catholic, and Charles hesitated further to alienate his supporters by putting more power into the hands of Catholics. On October 12, 1642, Charles, having mustered a large army, left Shrewsbury for London. The Battle of Edgehill was fought on October 23. The whole reserve of infantry consisted of Welshmen, who were armed with pitchforks and sickles. Sir John Owen commanded the men of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire; William Herbert, M.P. for Cardiff, was slain on the Royalist side.

Shortly afterwards Lord Herbert, who had assembled an army at Cardiff, was marching to reinforce the Royalists at Oxford. At

Tewkesbury he was driven back by the Parliamentarians under the Earl of Stamford. Another force

Lord Herbert.

from South Wales appears to have attempted to reach the King through Hereford. This also was repulsed. But the Welsh were badly armed, and even when at last supplied with muskets, they were not properly trained to use them. On the other hand, the Parliamentary troops were provided with field-pieces, to which the Welsh were wholly unaccustomed. Nevertheless, Herbert cleared the Welsh side of the Severn of all disaffection, and placed garrisons at Raglan and Cardiff. By the end of the year John Williams, Archbishop of York, had fortified Conway; Sir Thomas Myddleton's castle at Chirk was in the hands of the Royalists, and the Severn and the Dee strongly guarded.

Gloucester was the strongest fortress of the Parliament in the Severn Valley. The Marquis of Hertford and Lord Herbert, whom

Charles, recognizing the enormous value of his support, had now made Lieutenant-General of South Wales and Monmouthshire, essayed the formidable task of reducing it. Hertford, having been joined by Rupert and a body of cavalry, seized Cirencester (February 1), preliminary to an attack upon Gloucester. Meanwhile, Lord Herbert, armed with his new commission, had gathered a force in South Wales, and having brushed

Attempt to Capture Gloucester.

the enemy aside in the Forest of Dean, was approaching the walls of Gloucester. But with unpardonable neglect he left his army to subordinate officers and passed on to Oxford. Waller, the Parliamentary general, hearing of the danger which threatened Gloucester from the two Welsh forces, crossed the Severn and took Herbert's force in the rear. At Highnam, a few miles from the city, the Welsh infantry were forced to surrender, while their officers took flight (March 24). Herbert lost his popularity; and when Rupert, after taking Bristol (July) besieged Gloucester, the Welsh forces there were placed under Sir William Vavasour.

In the summer of 1643 events began to assume an ugly aspect for the King in North Wales, where Lord Capel was Lieutenant-General.

The people complained of heavy taxes and harsh treatment. A greater danger threatened when, on August 10, Sir Thomas Myddleton, who had been made Major-General for the Parliament in North Wales, arrived at Nantwich from London with seven pieces of artillery and forty carriages of ammunition. Assisted by Sir William Brereton and Colonel Mytton, he seized Wem (Shropshire). In September he took Wrexham, whence he advanced through Flintshire, capturing every place of importance as far as Holywell. However, on November 18, the Irish landed at Mostyn, at the estuary of the Dee. Before the end of the year the conquests of Brereton and Myddleton were abandoned, and Myddleton went to gather reinforcements in London. In January, 1644, the Irish were defeated at Nantwich by Sir Thomas Fairfax. This defeat, together with the spread of disaffection in North Wales, led to the appointment of Prince Rupert as President of Wales (February).

Meanwhile, the Earl of Carbery had assembled the three western counties at Carmarthen (January, 1644), for a concerted attack upon Pembroke. A part of the Royalist fleet was sent from Bristol to co-operate. But the Parliament fleet arrived, blockaded the Royalist fleet at Pill, and forced it to surrender. This enabled Laugharne to strike vigorously at the besiegers. Having captured the fort at Pill, he swept the country of armed Royalists, seizing successively Haverfordwest, Tenby and Carew. He then moved on Carmarthen, which, being very poorly garrisoned and surrounded by a useless mud wall, could not prevail against the attack of Laugharne and the fleet which sailed up the River Towy. When it surrendered (April) the gentry around were forced to take the Solemn League and Covenant. Swansea, even

**Sir Thomas
Myddleton.**

Laugharne.

then "a town of good note," sent a defiant answer when commanded to surrender.

The success of the Parliamentarians gave Rupert a plausible reason for making extensive changes in the commands. Carbery was superseded by Charles Gerard, who received full authority in South Wales. Sir John Owen of Clenenau superseded Archbishop John Williams as Governor of Conway, in spite of the great expense the latter had incurred in fortifying the castle there. This injustice caused the Archbishop to come to terms with Mytton after the Battle of Naseby. Rupert then made a tour of the country before his departure for the north to take part at Marston Moor.

The Royalists were more successful in the south, where Gerard, having landed near Chepstow, marched westwards, taking successively Carmarthen, Newcastle Emlyn, and Cardigan.

Gerard. On August 22 Haverfordwest itself surrendered. Tenby and Pembroke resisted his attacks, and were secure enough as long as the Parliament fleet was supreme in the Channel. Not only did Gerard make no effort to conciliate the gentry, who had hitherto sacrificed so freely, but he treated them with positive contempt, while the rapacity and brutality of the Cavaliers completely undermined their loyalty.

After his rout at Marston Moor Rupert came once more to North Wales and spread terror among the inhabitants. From Ruthin he passed on to Bristol. A Lancashire force of 3,000 horse under Langdale, which was on its way to reinforce **Battle of Montgomery, Sept. 18, 1644.** Rupert, was driven back with great slaughter by Brereton and Colonel Michael Jones. Meanwhile, Myddleton, who had won minor victories over Rupert's horse on September 3, captured a large quantity of ammunition at Newtown. Then he marched to Montgomery, one of the strongest castles in Wales, which Lord Herbert of Cherbury surrendered, for he took no active part in the war. Being unable to hold it with the small force at his disposal, Myddleton left a garrison and went in search of reinforcements. During his absence the garrison were besieged by a Royalist army from Shrewsbury. On September 17, Myddleton was again before the town with an army of 3,000, assisted by Sir William Fairfax and Brereton. The Royalists, numbering about 4,000, were under Lord Byron, who had taken up a strong position on the hill above the town. On the morrow was fought one of the fiercest battles in Wales during the

war. Sir William Fairfax was killed; but the Royalists were scattered and their power in North Wales practically ruined. Langdale was left with but a remnant of his army to reinforce Rupert. Moreover, Shrewsbury was soon afterwards isolated; for on the night of October 2, Myddleton captured Red Castle, the strong fortress of Lord Powis. Montgomery was placed in the keeping of Sir John Price of Newtown.

The withdrawal of Gerard from Pembrokeshire to assist Rupert at Bristol had serious consequences in that district. For Laugharne, issuing forth from Pembroke, captured Cardigan and took several prominent prisoners, among them being Jeremy Taylor, who at the beginning of the war had retired to Golden Grove, where he wrote his great work, *Holy Living and Dying*. Cardigan did not long remain in the hands of Colonel Powel, whom Laugharne had placed in command. For after the surrender of Shrewsbury to

**Gerard's
Second Cam-
paign, 1645.** Mytton in February, 1645, Gerard was sent to South Wales once more. Starting from Beeston Castle he took Llanidloes from Sir John Price, defeated Myddleton near Oswestry, pillaged Tregaron and Lampeter, and finally defeated Laugharne at Newcastle Emlyn. Haverfordwest was handed over to him; while the Cardigan garrison, having set fire to the town, sailed for Milford. Picton Castle, held by Sir Richard Phillips, was forced to surrender. Tenby and Pembroke alone remained. Meanwhile, the King had been crushed at Naseby, and Gerard hurried to meet him at Hereford.

From Naseby Charles came to Wales, his favourite recruiting ground. Having met with an indifferent reception at Abergavenny, he passed on to Raglan, which he reached on July 3. A fortnight later he came to Cardiff to meet the Commissioners of Array for

**Charles at
Cardiff.** South Wales, and summoned every county to bring its full strength. But the unscrupulous conduct of

Gerard, his exorbitant and irregular exactions, his substitution of English soldiers of fortune for the Welsh gentry in posts of commands, and the brutality of the Cavaliers, had irrevocably alienated his staunchest supporters, and Charles at first completely failed to raise an army. On July 29, he met the Glamorgan gentry at St. Fagan's, near Cardiff, and renewed his appeal. The Welsh boldly submitted their demands before entertaining the question of further service. They demanded (1) the removal of the Governor of Cardiff Castle and the appointment of a Welshman in his stead;

(2) to be allowed to choose their own officers; (3) that the arrears claimed by Gerard should be remitted. The King so far consented that Gerard and his officers were removed and Sir Jacob Astley given supreme command; though the effect of this was considerably neutralized when Charles rewarded Gerard with a peerage.

In spite of these concessions the Welsh hesitated to make further sacrifices. They resented particularly the presence of Astley, who failed to raise any adequate force. On August 4, Charles left Cardiff, and having journeyed through Breconshire and Radnorshire, reached Oxford on

**His ill-
success.**



August 28, 1645. Immediately after his departure the few English officers at Cardiff were forced to yield the castle, and Colonel Herbert, of Colebrook, was chosen by the Welsh gentry as governor of the place. The chief men in Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire and Breconshire then banded themselves together in the cause of peace, their army under Colonel Herbert being called the "Peace Army." They persuaded Swansea to join with the same object. This change of feeling in South Wales brought as much joy to the Parliament as it created dismay in the ranks of the Royalists

Though Charles came once more to Raglan early in September, he met with no greater success than before. From Raglan he passed to Chester to witness the defeat of his last army at Rowton Heath, after which he passed to Newark.

In the meantime Laugharne had won striking successes. The Pembrokehire Royalists made one supreme effort to destroy him at Colby Moor, near Haverfordwest, but were repulsed with loss. By September Pembrokehire was cleared of Royalists. On October 11, Carmarthen was once more reduced. Laugharne then advanced on Brecon, which also submitted early in November. In the middle of December Newcastle Emlyn was reduced. On October 24, Monmouth yielded after a stubborn resistance and was placed under Sir Trevor Williams.

Since the fall of Bristol the King's gravest concern was for the safety of Chester, which commanded the route to Ireland, and which was closely besieged by Brereton. An army of Irishmen now landed in Anglesey and proceeded to Denbigh. Colonel Michael Jones scattered them with great loss, after a fiercely sustained conflict near the town. The great importance of the victory was that it deprived Chester of much-needed relief. Soon afterwards, on December 18, Hereford fell, and a number of prominent Welsh Royalists were taken prisoners, notably Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, one of the Chief Justices of Wales; his son, Sir Francis Lloyd, Comptroller of the King's Household; and Judge David Jenkins, Gerard's enthusiastic supporter in Wales. On February 1, 1646, Chester submitted. This practically annihilated the King's power in North Wales.

Aberystwyth was the only fortress in West Wales which held out for the King at the beginning of the year. The Marquis of Worcester at Raglan, however, fomented rebellion in Glamorgan, which caused Laugharne to be summoned from the siege of Aberystwyth. A fierce battle ensued on the Heath outside Cardiff, which resulted in the loss to the Royalists of more than 1,000 in slain and prisoners. In consequence of his victory Laugharne was made Commander-in-Chief in South Wales. In April Mytton and Colonel John Jones took Ruthin, which yielded only when on the point of being blown up by means of mines which had been dug beneath the walls. Carnarvon submitted on June 4; and ten days later Beaumaris, which had been of immense service to Charles in facilitating the frequent landing of Irish troops.

**Revolt at
Cardiff.**

The most formidable stronghold in South Wales now was Raglan, which was well supplied with arms, ammunition and provisions.

**Siege of
Raglan.**

Within its walls it had a mill which could produce a barrel of gunpowder a day. It was being besieged by Colonel Morgan, when Laugharne, after the fall of Aberystwyth, arrived with reinforcements. But the old Marquis refused to surrender until Sir Thomas Fairfax arrived, determined to take it by storm. On August 19, having been informed that Charles, then in the hands of the Scots, had advised surrender, the Marquis agreed to terms, after a siege of more than three months. South Wales was now completely reduced: Denbigh, which had endured a protracted siege, yielded on October 26. When Harlech yielded on March 13, 1647, the first Civil War was at an end.

When differences between Parliament and the Army led to the second Civil War, the Royalists of Glamorgan, under Sir Richard

**Second Civil
War. Revolt
in Glamorgan,
June, 1647.**

Bassett, were the first to rise. On June 13, 1647, he encamped at Llandaff with nearly 2,000 men. Hearing of the defection, Laugharne hastened from Carmarthen and scattered the insurgents. The revolt was said to have been instigated by Judge David Jenkins, then a prisoner in the Tower. When summoned to the bar of the House of Commons, he denied the right of that House to try him, and was heavily fined. In 1650 an Act was passed for his trial in the High Court of Justice. Nothing daunted, he declared that he would die in defence of the Crown, with the Bible under one arm and Magna Carta under the other.

The revolt in Glamorgan was the beginning of a widespread defection extending from Monmouth to Pembroke, in which Catholics

**Defection in
South Wales,
1648,
March-April.**

and Presbyterians united against the Independents. Colonel Poyer, on the pretence that he had not been paid the full amount of his arrears, refused to disband his troops, or to relinquish the command to Colonel Fleming, whom Fairfax had sent to supplant him. Horton was, therefore, despatched in all haste to reduce Pembroke. On March 1, 1648, the levies of Cardiganshire, including a large number of the local gentry, assembled at Lampeter under Colonel James Phillips and the High Sheriff. Powel organised a great force at Carmarthen. Breconshire and Radnorshire prepared to join. In Monmouthshire Sir Nicholas Kemeys seized Chepstow and placed it in a state of

defence; while on April 9, Poyer assembled the Pembrokeshire men on Colby Moor, and having marched to Carmarthen was there joined by Powel. The severest blow to the cause of the Army and Cromwell was the defection of Laugharne, one of the most successful of the Parliament generals. Horton, who had already reached Brecon, after a series of skirmishes on the banks of the Towy near Llandilo prevented the march of the insurgents eastwards. He then marched to Swansea, which was held for the Army by Colonel Philip Jones. Thence he returned to Brecon, being harassed considerably by the hostility of the people.

This so encouraged Laugharne that he resolved to move eastwards, for he was at the head of about 8,000 men, though fatally weak in cavalry. On May 4, he reached St. Fagan's, a few miles west of Cardiff. Meanwhile Horton, having been apprised of Laugharne's movements, had already set out from Brecon and reached St. Fagan's on the same day. He was assisted by Colonel Philip Jones of Swansea. The two armies did not come to grips till May 8, when, after a desperate and prolonged battle, Laugharne was crushed and retreated to Pembroke. Most of his men were either slain or taken prisoners, and a number of the Glamorgan gentry suffered the penalty of death. Meanwhile, affairs in Wales had created such a profound sensation in England that Cromwell himself was already on his way to deal with the danger, having been despatched on May 1. On May 10 he was at Monmouth, and Colonel Pride undertook to reduce Chepstow, which was taken a fortnight later after a furious encounter in which Kemeys was slain. Passing through Cardiff, Swansea, and Carmarthen, Cromwell reached Pembroke on May 24. On the last day of the month Tenby, which was defended by Powel, submitted to Horton. Pembroke proved a more desperate enemy.

Meanwhile, the fire of rebellion had broken out in North Wales under Sir John Owen, who throughout the first Civil War had been an ardent Royalist. He now put himself at the head of the Carnarvonshire men, and defeated the Army forces under the High Sheriff, who was slain. He then besieged Carnarvon. But his triumph was short, for at Llandegai, between Aber and Bangor, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and condemned to death, which he considered "a great honour to a poor gentleman of Wales." He was subsequently released.

Laugharne and Poyer at Pembroke, having no hope of mercy,

resolved to endure to the utmost extremity. They were assisted by "gentlemen of quality, men thoroughly resolved." Several attempts were made to capture the town, and the walls were battered with "shells and shot cast in the iron furnaces of Carmarthenshire." But the garrison, though they subsisted on rain water and a little biscuit, while their horses were fed with the thatch of houses, proved stubborn until guns of a more powerful calibre were landed at Milford Haven. These played on the walls with deadly effect. On July 11, the town surrendered. Poyer was some time afterwards shot at Covent

**Siege of
Pembroke,
May-July.**



Garden, while Laugharne and Powel were spared, and went into exile. From Wales Cromwell marched with his triumphant Ironsides against the Scots, whom he routed at Preston. The supremacy of the Army was established.

We have already seen that the Church founded by Wroth at Llanvaches in 1639 was the beginning of Welsh Nonconformity. It consisted of Independents and Baptists. Walter Cradock, who in 1641 was authorised by Parliament to preach in Wales, founded a few other such "independent" churches, and became Wroth's successor in 1642. The Nonconformists met in private houses, and not for many years were they given full liberty to build chapels of their own. On the outbreak of the Civil War the few congregations scattered, their chief leaders, Walter Cradock and Vavasor Powel, finding refuge in London. When the first Civil War was drawing

**The Dawn
of Noncon-
formity.**

WALES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 165

to a close, the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1646 sent them back to Wales as Itinerant Preachers, and authorized their maintenance out of the incomes of the dioceses of St. David's and Llandaff. Through their instrumentality other Nonconformist churches were founded in South Wales, new editions of the Welsh Bible being published by them to supplement their missionary work. In the same year the Westminster Assembly resolved to take measures for maintaining Welsh preachers in North Wales.

The Commonwealth, sensitive to the neglected condition of Wales, in 1649 passed "An Act for the better Propagation of the Gospel in Wales." The chief provisions of this Ordinance were as follows: (1) Seventy-one Commissioners

Wales under the Commonwealth.

and twenty-five "Approvers" of public preachers

were appointed. (2) The Commissioners were empowered to examine and eject unfit or non-resident clergymen, to appoint others in their stead, and to manage all sequestered livings. No

minister was to hold more than one living. (3) The "Approvers" were authorised to send preachers throughout the country to preach in the churches and keep schools. Such ministers were to receive a

Act for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1649-1653.

yearly payment of £100. Chief among the Commissioners were Colonel Harrison and Colonel Philip Jones of Swansea, and among the Approvers Walter Cradock, Vavasor Powel, and Morgan Llwyd. Through the operation of this Act a number of the clergy were ejected for inefficiency and notoriously wicked lives, and were replaced by ministers or Itinerant Preachers who understood the Welsh language and could carry on effectively the work of evangelisation. In effect the Act embodied the proposals of John Penry in the time of Elizabeth. The Itinerant Preachers worked with exemplary zeal, and some of them showed themselves possessed of remarkable gifts of oratory. The Act expired in 1653, and was superseded by a general ordinance in 1654, which remained in force till the death of Cromwell.

The most celebrated of the Itinerants was Vavasor Powel, a native of Radnorshire, who, having received a liberal education at

Vavasor Powel, d. 1670. Oxford, returned to his native country an ardent Puritan. The unsleeping enmity of the clergy of the Established Church caused him to be arrested on

several occasions before his removal to Dartford in Kent upon the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1646 he returned and laboured

with extraordinary diligence in spreading Puritan doctrines among his countrymen, visiting the most remote corners and drawing large congregations by his earnest eloquence. He was the most energetic among the early organisers of Welsh Nonconformity. Another of these gifted preachers was Morgan Llwyd, a native of Merioneth-

**Morgan
Llwyd,
d. 1659.**

shire, whose sphere was North Wales. He was indefatigable in his endeavours to rouse his countrymen from their indifference to religion, yet his fame rests more on his immortal work entitled *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, or *The Book of the Three Birds*, first published in 1653. This book, which is written in the form of a dialogue between the Eagle, Dove and Raven, is highly figurative in thought and expression. In it we get glimpses into the mysterious political and religious ideals, so impossible in practice, of the monarchy of saints—the Fifth Monarchy—of which Morgan Llwyd, Vavasor Powel and Colonel Harrison were the representatives in Wales. Morgan Llwyd wrote several other works in Welsh. It was this, together with his assiduous labours among the purely Welsh-speaking population, that distinguished him from Powel, who wrote only one book in Welsh, entitled *Cauwyll Crist*, and Cradock, whose efforts were concentrated upon the English inhabitants. It was not until the religious upheaval of the eighteenth century that the full effects of the writings of Morgan Llwyd and Vicar Prichard, and of the Puritan spirit which animated them, were felt among the Welsh peasantry.

Partly on account of the energy of the Itinerants, partly on account of a reaction against the dissolute conduct of the Cavaliers

**Spread of
Nonconform-
ity, 1649 -
1660.**

during the Civil War, Puritan ideals gained ground in Wales during the Commonwealth. In 1649 a Baptist Church was organised at Ilston in Gower, and became the mother church of a number of others. In 1650 the first Welsh Baptist Association was held at Ilston. The Nonconformist church founded at Llanvaches in 1639 some years later became Independent in the modern sense. The Quakers now also began to make their influence felt. But though a number of Nonconformist churches were founded during these years, Nonconformity made but slow progress among the Welsh for many generations.

As Chief Commissioner under the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel (1649) Harrison was head of the government in Wales under the Commonwealth. His rule, and that of his chief associate

Vavasor Powel, was hateful to the mass of the people, whose instinct rebelled against subservience to upstart Englishmen like Harrison, the son of a Staffordshire butcher.

Cromwell's Agents. The clergy were violently hostile to the "Approvers," and charged them with injustice, though a petition to Parliament in 1641 for redress was subsequently abandoned by its promoters. The Welsh gentry were deeply disaffected, for an Act of Sequestration (1648-9) imposed upon North Wales a fine of £24,000, and upon South Wales a fine of £20,500, which greatly impoverished Welsh landlords, as most of them had taken part against the Parliament and Cromwell. Moreover, Wales was represented in Parliament in great part by Englishmen in whom the people could have no confidence. Colonel John Jones, M.P. for Merionethshire and Denbighshire in 1656, did not represent the opinions even of his own counties. Disaffection spread when Cromwell became Protector. Harrison resented it and fell into disfavour. Vavasor Powel, a pronounced Republican, whom Cromwell had hitherto held in high respect, denounced it as a betrayal of his earlier principles, and lost Cromwell's confidence. On the other hand, Cradock and the majority

Wales and the Protectorate. of the Itinerants supported the new form of Government. The rule of the Major-Generals appointed in 1655 was abhorred in Wales as in England. It is interesting to observe that the most famous of the English Republicans, Algernon Sidney, who afterwards suffered death for his advanced opinions, sat in the Commonwealth Parliaments as member for Cardiff.

The Restoration of 1660 was, therefore, received in Wales with unfeigned joy, except by the few Itinerants and sparse congregations of Nonconformists, who now suffered bitterly at the hands of a vindictive clergy, and the rage of the injured landlords, who once more administered justice. The jails, especially those of Cardiff and Montgomery, were full of persecuted religionists, who were invariably treated with malicious cruelty. The Act of Uniformity (1661) required all ministers to receive episcopal ordination and to conform to the Book of Common Prayer. Many of the Itinerants refused and were ejected, though many of them conformed and thus became Anglican clergymen. Of greater severity in its operation was the Conventicle Act, one of the provisions of which gave part of the fine to the informer. Vavasor Powel is said to have been the first

The Restoration.

and was certainly one of the principal sufferers; for with brief interruptions he spent the rest of his life in dungeons, sometimes at Cardiff, sometimes in London. His health was thereby undermined and he died in 1670.

In spite of its persecuting zeal the Cavalier Parliament was sensitive to the necessity of reaching the Welsh people in their own language. In 1662 a measure was passed calling
Act of 1662. upon the Welsh Bishops, together with the Bishop of Hereford, to provide a new translation into Welsh of the Book of Common Prayer, and to use it in Welsh districts. In addition to this a number of Welsh books appeared during the second half of the seventeenth century, mostly translations from English religious publications, which gradually raised the moral standard of the people. In this work the two most notable men were Stephen Hughes and Thomas Gouge.

Stephen Hughes was one of the ministers ejected for Nonconformity in 1662, from the living of Meidrym in Carmarthenshire.

Stephen Hughes. His opinions were so moderate and his oratory so impressive that he was frequently allowed to preach in the parish churches. He founded many Nonconformist churches in West Wales. He was unceasing in his efforts to diffuse religious knowledge, and published about twenty books in Welsh, a task in which he co-operated with Thomas Gouge. He gave Wales the *Pilgrim's Progress* in Welsh. At his own expense he published *The Welshman's Candle*, having collected the stanzas with much labour. These publications, together with James Owen's *Trugaredd a Barn* (Mercy and Judgment), Charles Edward's *Hanes y Ffydd* (The History of the Faith), and Rowland Vaughan's translation of the *Practice of Piety*, caused Welshmen in large numbers to learn to read their own language, and turned their thoughts to religion.

Gouge was a Londoner, who formed a charitable design for evangelising Wales. His labours on behalf of Wales began about 1670, and he received much sympathy from Dr. Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury. He put into circulation a large number of religious books in the Welsh language, selling them at low prices, or even distributing them freely among the poorer classes. The most interesting part of his work concerned education. He engaged teachers and paid them, having established a system under which many hundreds of poorer chil-

Thomas Gouge, d. 1681.

dren were educated annually. The funds were obtained partly from his own estate, partly by contributions which he collected. The better to supervise the work he travelled regularly through Wales. But his efforts were confined mainly to South Wales, and the education was to be in the English language, which provoked opposition from the ardent nationalist, Stephen Hughes. On his death in 1681 the 300 or 400 schools which he organised seem to have disappeared.

One result of the labours of these men was the spread of Nonconformity; about 130 indulgences were granted to Welsh preachers in 1672. Before the end of the century it became necessary to establish an academy for the education of Nonconformist ministers. This was the work of Samuel Jones, who set up the first Welsh Nonconformist academy at Brynllwarch, near Bridgend, soon after his ejection from the living of Llangynwyd, in 1662. After his death the academy was removed to Abergavenny.

Nothing better illustrates the beneficial effects of Tudor legislation than the industrial security which Wales enjoyed in Stuart times. In consequence of this the Welsh people applied themselves to the manufacture of cloth.

Welsh cloths became famous early in the seventeenth century and the industry called for special legislation. It gave employment to many thousands of people, who earned a good livelihood by spinning, carding, weaving and frilling. The merchants had liberty to sell wherever they pleased, and acquired considerable wealth. Their success drew from the drapers of Shrewsbury an attempt to restrict the sale of Welsh cloths. The Welsh members of Parliament interfered, which caused Parliament in 1623-4 to pass an Act giving the merchants of Wales full liberty of trade. At the same time another measure was passed regulating the length and breadth of the cloths prepared for sale.

CHAPTER V

CHARLES II. 1660-1685

Born 1630 ; married, 1662, Catharine of Braganza.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES :—

France. Louis XIV (1643-1715).

Spain. Philip IV (1621-1665).

Charles II (1665-1700).

Character of Charles II—Work of the Convention—The Clarendon Code—Persecution of Nonconformists—Foreign Policy—The Second Dutch War—Treaty of Breda—Fall of Clarendon—The Cabal—Triple Alliance—Treaty of Dover—Third Dutch War—Test Act—Danby—Titus Oates—Shaftesbury—Exclusion Bill—Whig and Tory—Charles's Absolutism—Rye House Plot.

CHARLES was called to the throne by the unanimous wish of the nation, for military rule was repugnant to English feeling. Shrewd

Charles II. and clever, he was the most gifted of the Stuart sovereigns. He had a two-fold desire: to rule as an absolute monarch ; and to re-establish the Catholic faith. But he had a stronger resolve than either of these ; namely, not to risk his throne by setting the wishes of Parliament at defiance : the turbulent years of his youth had tempered his pretensions to arbitrary power. His character is not attractive. Dissolute and sensual, he became the centre of a voluptuous court—the reaction against Puritan austerity. Unpatriotic, he could be bought at a price by Louis XIV, if thereby he might rid himself of parliamentary control.

The Convention Parliament which had recalled him was still in session, and immediately passed an Act of " Indemnity and Oblivion," embodying the general pardon contained in the Declaration of Breda. It was not surprising that the " regicides"—those who had decreed the fate of Charles I—found no mercy in the Act. Twelve of them, including Colonel John Jones, were put to death ; others were banished or imprisoned. But such was the vindictive temper of the Cavaliers that

Vane, too, who was no regicide, was sent to his doom ; while the bodies of Cromwell and Ireton were dug out of their graves and sent to the gibbets. The army was disbanded, with the exception of a few regiments of Guards, about 5,000 men, which proved to be the beginning of our standing army. The lands confiscated by the Commonwealth were restored ; but the changes in regard to the land were not sufficiently drastic to please the Cavaliers, who scornfully described the Act of Indemnity as indemnity for the King's enemies and oblivion for his friends. The Convention, further, finally abolished the old feudal dues ; but the King's consequent loss in revenue was made up by a fixed excise on liquors, thus throwing the burden on the nation generally. The King was to receive a fixed income of £1,200,000 a year for life.

The religious difficulty was more complicated. The two dominant parties were the Anglicans and the Presbyterians. These shunned all others. The Presbyterians hoped that the Anglicans would make the Church more comprehensive, so that they could come within its fold.

With this object a conference of Bishops and Presbyterian ministers took place at the Savoy Palace, April, 1661. The Bishops were unbending ; the only result was to make the Prayer-Book still more stringent. The real settlement, however, was transferred to the Cavalier Parliament, which met the same year. Swept into power by a tempestuous flood of reaction against militant Puritanism, it proved profoundly loyal and violently Anglican. Even Charles, who wished for some measure of toleration for the sake of the Catholics, found it inexorable. Armed resistance to the King was declared unlawful, the Church of England was re-established, and the Bishops were re-admitted to the House of Lords.

The implacable champion of Anglican supremacy was the Earl of Clarendon, the Edward Hyde of the Long Parliament. In 1661

Clarendon Code, 1661-1665. he let loose on the Nonconformists -Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists alike—the hungry dogs of persecution. In that year the Corporation Act was passed. By it all holders of office in municipal corporations were required to renounce the Covenant and take the sacrament

(i) **The Corporation Act, 1661.** according to the rites of the Church of England, and to swear to passive obedience. In the following year a new Act of Uniformity was passed compelling all

clergymen to use the revised Prayer-Book, and to receive ordination at the hands of a bishop. Those who had not done so by St. Bartho-

(ii) **Act of Uniformity, 1662.** lomew's Day (August 24) were ejected from their livings. They numbered about two thousand. This was the final breach between the Church of England

and Nonconformists.

Since the establishment of the Church of England by Elizabeth, the Presbyterians had remained in the Church in the hope of con-

(iii) **The Conventicle Act, 1664.** verting it to their views. The Independents and Baptists had separated, and met for worship in secret conventicles, except during the Commonwealth, when

they too held livings. The hopes of the Presbyterians were now finally shattered, and the most courageous, refusing to agree to the Act of Uniformity, left the Church to swell the ranks of Nonconformity. Persecution dogged them. To prevent Nonconformists worshipping apart, the Conventicle Act was passed in 1664, forbidding more than five persons to assemble for worship except according to the forms and rites of the Church of England. The penalties were severe, a third offence involving transportation to the West Indies.

In 1665 came the Great Plague of London. During those days of sorrow the Nonconformist ministers showed exemplary devotion

(iv) **The Five Mile Act, 1665.** to the sufferers; yet Parliament with inordinate vindictiveness passed the Five Mile Act. By this Act no Nonconformist was allowed to teach or preach,

or settle within five miles of any town or parish in which he had held a living.

These Acts constitute the Clarendon Code—an infamous series of enactments in that they proceeded from motives of malice; and

Persecution of Nonconformists. the more base in that Cromwell had already set a precedent in toleration. The prisons were soon full of Nonconformists, the most illustrious of them being

John Bunyan, a Baptist minister who, during his twelve years' imprisonment in Bedford Gaol, wrote that immortal work, the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The persecution was the work not of Charles II, but of an Anglican parliament in its hour of triumph. Nor were the members animated by deep religious convictions; for the reign was licentious and riotous, Charles himself spending annually an enormous sum on amusements and dissipation.

In his foreign policy Clarendon allied with France, as Cromwell

had done, though from different motives. Louis XIV was then engaged in assisting Portugal to maintain its independence of Spain, and it was part of his diplomacy that Charles should marry Catharine of Braganza, the King of Portugal's sister. This was accomplished, with a two-fold result. It implied the recognition of Portugal as a distinct kingdom, which was a violent blow to Spanish prestige. Also, England received a possession which proved of considerable value in our later colonial expansion. This was the island of Bombay, which was part of the lady's dowry. In 1668 Charles gave it to the East India Company, under whose control it became an important trading centre.

Foreign Policy. In 1639 the Company had secured Madras. These (i) **Bombay.** were the small beginnings of our Indian Empire. Yet more convenient for Charles's immediate needs was the large sum of money which Catharine brought with her.

France, of course, profited by the marriage in that it weakened Spain; and Louis XIV contemplated an attack on the Spanish Netherlands, which he claimed through his wife, (ii) **Dunkirk,** Maria Theresa, sister of Charles II of Spain. Another 1662. profitable business from the standpoint of Louis XIV was the cession to him of Dunkirk, which Cromwell's sword had acquired for England. The harbour was not good, and its upkeep was costly. Moreover, the sale swelled Charles's exchequer. But Englishmen had no liking for parting with territory, certainly not when it made for the aggrandisement of Louis XIV. There was an angry outcry against Clarendon for thus making England the handmaid of France, and the sale formed part of the later indictment against him.

Our relations with the Dutch, on the other hand, evoked considerable enthusiasm. Since the passing of the Navigation Act (iii) **The** in 1651 the tension between the two countries had 2 always been critical, even when hostilities were sus- **Second Dutch** **War, 1665-** **1667.** pended. Rivalry in commerce was keen and dangerous, and not less so in colonial enterprise. There was also a personal question. At the head of the Dutch Republic was John de Witt, a brilliant statesman whose ascendancy deprived William of Orange, Charles's nephew, of the reins of power. War was formally declared in 1665. In June of the same year the English under the Duke of York defeated the Dutch off Lowestoft. Twelve months later was fought the famous "four days' battle" off North

Foreland, one of the fiercest of naval fights. Victory, though slight, rested with the Dutch, and was due to the consummate seamanship of De Ruyter, one of the greatest of naval tacticians. Some weeks later Monk gained another success over his powerful enemy in the Straits of Dover, after which he pursued and destroyed even along the coast of Holland.

Then came a sudden fright. An enthusiastic Parliament had magnanimously voted liberal supplies for the war. Charles most unpatriotically squandered it on his pleasures, many of his ships meanwhile lying idle in dock for want of repairs. De Ruyter snatched at the opportunity, sailed up the Thames, and set on fire several men-of-war. But the affair was somewhat of a stain on the escutcheon of De Ruyter, for there was a truce at the time. In July, the combatants came

Treaty of Breda, 1667.

to terms of peace at Breda. Britain received New Amsterdam, which was re-named New York after the Duke of York, as well as the Dutch colonies between the New England colonies and Virginia. This latter concession made the British settlements on the seaboard of America continuous. In fact the treaty was more advantageous to England than to the Dutch, showing that the British fleet was not unequal to its rival.

The Dutch themselves had been anxious for peace, for while they were engaged in an exhausting combat with England, Louis XIV's

Why Peace was made.

able general Turenne had conquered the southern part of the Spanish Netherlands, which served as a bulwark between France and Holland. De Witt suspected, not without reason, that his own country would be the next victim of Louis XIV's immoderate aggressiveness. Parliament, too, was not well disposed to trust Charles with further supplies. Moreover, the Great Plague of 1665 had swept away a large proportion of the population, entailing much misery. It was only with the approach of winter that its ravages ceased. In September of the following year a disastrous fire raged for three days in London, resulting in terrible losses. In the midst of such misfortunes a vigorous foreign policy was well-nigh impossible.

These calamitous visitations, together with the exactions of war, strained the loyalty even of a Cavalier Parliament. The Commons became restive. In 1666 they demanded the appoint-

Appropriation of Supplies.

ment of auditors to examine Government expenditure; and the previous year they had insisted that taxes

voted for a specific object should be used for that purpose and for no other. This was called "appropriation of supplies," and constituted an important advance in constitutional government. Clarendon opposed it, thereby losing the confidence of the Commons,

Fall of Clarendon, 1667. who were already shocked at the profligacy of the Court. He set too high a value on the royal prerogative to please what was called the "country party."

The sale of Dunkirk to the French, and the Dutch fleet in the Medway, were still vivid in people's memories. His arrogance in marrying his daughter Anne to the Duke of York, heir to the throne, alienated rival courtiers. His intensely Anglican proclivities, while embittering the Nonconformists against his rule, could not excuse his bad administration in the eyes of Parliament. Charles himself was not of the heroic mould to uphold a falling minister. Therefore, when the Commons impeached Clarendon in 1667, his sovereign advised him to take refuge in France, where he disappears ignominiously from public view.

On the fall of Clarendon the "Cabal" came into power. It was a small group of five, whose names—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale—accidentally spelt the word. They were unanimous in nothing. Clifford and Arlington, the latter a shrewd, arrogant diplomatist, were Catholics. The unprincipled, dissolute Buckingham demanded toleration for the Protestant Nonconformists. Lauderdale, whose chief business was in Scotland, was a stern champion of Episcopacy among a nation of presbyters. Ashley, afterwards created Earl of Shaftesbury, a man of some brilliant parts, was chiefly concerned with checking the royal prerogative. They were so many units, and Charles treated them as such, deceiving even those whom he pretended to trust.

The new administration realised that the outstanding feature of the European situation was the dangerous predominance of France, and the overweening ambition of its King. Arlington, therefore, set on foot a scheme for making peace with the Dutch, and Sir William Temple, a diplomatist

The Triple Alliance, 1668.

of ability and sagacity, was dispatched to the Netherlands, and arranged the Triple Alliance between England, Holland and Sweden. This first of many efforts to stay the advance of France was short-lived. With the two most formidable navies arrayed against him in a menacing coalition, Louis XIV at once sought means to shatter

it. This was not difficult. For, in the first place, an alliance between England and her commercial rival, Holland, was not popular in England. Secondly, Charles wanted money, which Louis XIV was prepared to supply on condition that Charles would work for the restoration of Catholicism, a thing which Charles actually desired.

Insincere and deceptive, Charles was in fact playing a game of gross double-dealing. He had a consistent policy, which his ministers had not. In order to obtain supplies from Parliament **The Treaty of Dover, 1670-** he had promised unmitigated persecution of Non-**1671.** conformists and Catholics. At the same time he had no scruples about revealing to Louis the secret terms of the treaty with the Dutch. In 1670 his treacherous scheming reached a climax in the secret Treaty of Dover, by which (1) Charles was to receive financial, and if necessary, military support to restore Catholicism in England. (2) He was to assist Louis against Holland and receive the island of Walcheren when the Dutch were conquered. The Catholic members of the Cabal alone were privy to this, Arlington having succumbed to Louis XIV's machinations. In 1671, to please Buckingham and Ashley, Charles proclaimed a fresh treaty with France. It contained the above provision for the destruction of England's commercial rival, and said nothing of Catholicism. By as scandalous a piece of perfidy as it is possible to conceive, the Cabal had broken its faith with the Dutch, as embodied in the Triple Alliance; and they were now to be humiliated by Louis with the connivance of England.

The Commons, completely innocent of the secret treaties, voted large sums to strengthen the navy, and were then prorogued. **Third Dutch War, 1672-1674.** Charles and the Cabal had a free hand. The combined French and English fleets engaged De Ruyter in Southwold Bay. The allies, losing more by the lack of combined effort than they gained by superior numbers, could not prevail against the admirable naval tactics of De Ruyter. After a fierce conflict, the Dutch for the present were left in command of the sea. On land their fortunes were dark, for the legions of Louis XIV had crossed the frontiers of the Netherlands, and Holland seemed within his grasp. The great De Witt was murdered. But William of Orange, who became Stadtholder, opened the dykes and flooded the country. The French had to retire, and Holland was saved. Henceforth till his death William of Orange was to be

the implacable enemy of Louis XIV, and the soul of the coalitions against him. The first object of the Treaty of Dover had collapsed.

The baneful influence of France was manifest in domestic as well as in foreign affairs. Parliamentary supplies were not sufficient

The Stop of the Exchequer. to carry on the Dutch War, and Charles, with the concurrence of Clifford, and against the advice of Shaftesbury, resorted to what was called the "Stop

of the Exchequer." The goldsmiths were the bankers of those days.

Large sums of money were deposited with them, which they in their turn lent to the Government on interest. Charles, in 1672, announced that he would suspend repayments for the present.

If the goldsmiths were not repaid from the Exchequer, they could not repay the merchants who had deposited their gold with them.

There was a panic, and confidence in the Government was severely shaken.

If Parliament disliked Charles's dishonest financial expedients, it showed a most violent resentment towards his religious tendencies.

Declaration of Indulgence, 1672. The Cavalier Parliament had abated none of its fanatic bitterness against the Nonconformists, the Catholics also being regarded with unrelenting suspicion.

In fulfilment of the second provision of the secret treaty of Dover, Charles now issued a "Declaration of Indulgence," suspending all penal laws against Catholics and Nonconformists. This he did

The Right of "Suspending." in virtue of a right he claimed of suspending the operation of the Acts of Parliament against Nonconformity.

When Parliament met in 1673, the King was compelled to withdraw the Declaration. This safeguard was not deemed

sufficient. A Test Act was passed, compelling all who held office under the Crown to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and to renounce the Catholic

The Test Act, 1673. doctrine of transubstantiation. Thereupon, Clifford resigned his position as Lord Treasurer. James,

Duke of York, who had recently declared himself a Catholic, gave up the post of High Admiral. Shaftesbury (the Lord Ashley of the Cabal), who deeply distrusted the King's Catholic tendencies, strongly supported the Test Act, and with Buckingham went into

opposition against Charles. Arlington was driven from office, and the Cabal ministry came to an end.

Fall of the Cabal. Charles now submitted to the inevitable. The outcry against the Catholics was too strong. In 1674 peace was made

with the Dutch at the Treaty of Westminster, much sympathy having been aroused for the gallant Republic.

Charles found a new minister in Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby. The one abiding fact in the very intricate and confusing changes of the next few years was Charles's persistent effort to govern as an absolute sovereign, which could only be done with French gold. Danby endeavoured to conciliate the Cavalier Parliament by unmitigated hostility towards Nonconformists and Catholics, and putting in force the penal laws. He also stooped to an elaborate system of bribery, distributing gold and offices, so as to win a majority. Shaftesbury became the protagonist of those Cavaliers who were also strongly in favour of parliamentary supremacy, his party being called the "country party." The struggle became severe, and the relations between Charles and the Commons so strained that in 1675 Parliament was prorogued. Meanwhile, French gold was forthcoming in plentiful supplies to make Charles independent of parliamentary grants; for Louis wished England to hold aloof while he carried out his plans in the Netherlands. And not Charles only, but his courtiers as well were the recipients of lavish bribes from the French King.

But far from being a servile handmaid, Danby was profoundly suspicious of Louis. It was only his unerring loyalty that deterred him from a warlike policy against that proud monarch. In 1677, however, he succeeded in an admirable stroke of policy designed to thwart France. This was the marriage of young William of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland, to Mary, elder daughter of James, Duke of York. James was heir-presumptive to the throne, and after him his daughter Mary, who was a Protestant. Next to the daughters of James, William himself was the heir to the throne. The marriage evoked tremendous enthusiasm in the country, whereas Louis XIV was bitterly mortified. For the moment he suppressed his indignation at Charles's duplicity, and Charles continued to be his pensioner. Next year, however, Louis made peace with Holland by the Treaty of Nimeguen (1678) on terms abundantly favourable to France.

But he never forgave Danby for the Orange marriage, and circumstances now arose which gave him an opportunity of venting his wrath against Charles, and humbling his minister. This was the Popish Plot, the foul scheme of a rogue named Titus Oates, a reprobate who had been expelled

The Orange Marriage, 1677.

The Popish Plot, 1678. Titus Oates.

from the Church of England for his vices. He represented that a plot was afoot to murder Charles, place James Duke of York on the throne, restore Catholicism, and steep the country in Protestant blood. The thing was palpably absurd, for Charles was an honest friend of the Catholics. But the country, in its hatred of Popery, was foolishly credulous. The perjured revelations of Oates were believed; and the Duke of York's papers which were seized gave some colour to his assertions, for they showed that the reconversion of England to Catholicism through the Duke of York was not a baseless hope. Mean falsehoods were readily believed. Juries were intimidated to give verdicts against Papists. Judges convicted Jesuits on utterly groundless charges, and innocent Catholics became the victims of a ferocious persecution. Among the unfortunate victims was David Lewis, the Jesuit, who was executed at Usk in 1679.

The chief result of the loathsome invention as regards the Government was the fall of Danby; for Shaftesbury, pursuing very dis-
 creditable tactics, used the outcry as a weapon with
Fall of Danby, which to strike down his rival. An Act—the Papists
1678 (Dec.).

Disabling Act—was passed, excluding Catholics from seats in Parliament, and Danby was impeached. Now was Louis XIV's opportunity for retaliating. The secret agreements by which Charles had received French gold were revealed. Unhappily, in spite of his hostility to France, Danby had been enticed to sign a bond by which Charles was to receive a pension from Louis. Nothing could serve Shaftesbury's unscrupulous purpose better. The opposition to the minister was furious; to save him Charles was forced (January, 1679) to dissolve the Cavalier Parliament, which had sat since 1661. One important principle was thus emphasised—that the minister and not the Crown is held responsible for the acts of the Government.

Shaftesbury was thus swept into power by a flood of anti-Catholic sentiment. When the new Parliament met in March, 1679, Danby
 was thrown into the Tower; before it rose in May
Habeas Corpus, 1679. it had brought in two important measures. One, the
Habeas Corpus Act, was passed. It was drawn up by Sir William Jones, the Attorney-General (1675-9), who was the greatest lawyer in England. Its object was to make more effectual one of the vital clauses of Magna Carta, giving to an accused person the right of being released on bail, or brought to an early

trial. This was done by issuing without delay a writ of Habeas Corpus ordering the gaoler to bring the prisoner for trial. Kings had frequently imprisoned without trial by evading the rule requiring the issue of writs. This now became impossible. The other measure was the Exclusion Bill, by which it was proposed to exclude James, Duke of York, from the throne on

Exclusion Bill. account of his Catholic faith. Through the influence of Sir William Jones the bill passed the Commons, but before it became law Charles dissolved Parliament.

With extraordinary dexterity, he played a waiting game while Shaftesbury blundered in preferring the worthless Duke of Monmouth—an illegitimate son of Charles II—to William and Mary to succeed Charles.

Monmouth had recently won fame, and therefore confidence, in Scotland. That country had opened its arms to Charles II, for the Restoration implied the disappearance of the
Monmouth and Scotland. Independents. The joy of the Presbyterians or Covenanters was, however, short-lived. They had expected a return to power and privilege. Instead, they felt the iron heel of Episcopacy crushing them to impotence. In 1661 Argyle, their leader, was sent to his doom as a regicide, Lauderdale and Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, represented the fanatic intolerance that held sway in England. The persecuted Covenanters became desperate, and in 1679 Sharp was brutally sacrificed on the altar of vengeance. They then rose in arms. Monmouth was sent to reduce them. His mission was successful, for he defeated them at Bothwell Bridge, and his pacific policy earned for him some degree of popularity. His association with Shaftesbury's policy, however, threw him into opposition against Charles, who sent James, Duke of York, to take his place. Monmouth crossed to Holland.

Meanwhile, passion rose in England. Petitions poured in, urging Charles to summon Parliament. Those who petitioned were called
Petitioners and Abhorrrers. "Petitioners." Counter-petitions also poured in expressing abhorrence at such interference with the King's prerogative of summoning Parliament. Hence arose

the term "Abhorrrers." Soon afterwards these names gave way to the abusive terms "Whig" and "Tory" respectively, which were to become the honourable names of the two great parties in the State. At that time "Whig" meant a Scottish Covenanter in rebellion against his

Whig and Tory.

sovereign, whereas the Tories were Irish brigands. The Whigs, upholding parliamentary supremacy, supported the Exclusion Bill. The Tories opposed it, being unequivocal champions of the royal prerogative, and High Church in religion. They also shrank from the prospect of another civil war, while Shaftesbury and the Whigs would prefer once more to unsheathe the sword than submit to royal absolutism.

Parliament re-assembled in October, 1680, Sir William Williams of Anglesey being Speaker of the House of Commons. The Exclusion Bill, which had passed the Commons, was thrown out by the Lords, mainly through the influence of Lord Halifax, who was called the "Trimmer," because his opinions were neither emphatically Tory nor Whig. The Commons retaliated by attacking Halifax and refusing to pass any money bills. Charles thereupon dissolved. London being hostile to his cause, he summoned Parliament to reassemble at Oxford (March, 1681), and placed troops between Oxford and London. Shaftesbury and his followers came armed—a fatal blunder, for it threw a decisive weight of wavering opinion to the side of Charles, who, nevertheless, offered to compromise. Shaftesbury would have nothing but the Exclusion Bill, which meant the succession of Monmouth. Charles replied by dismissing Parliament once more, and he found that the country was with him against the too factious Shaftesbury. The King had no need of parliamentary supplies, for he was still the pensioner of Louis XIV. In reality, he was in the ignominious position of being an absolute sovereign living on a foreign pension.

The last four years of the reign were, then, a despotism, during which time Charles's Secretary of State was Sir Leoline Jenkins, a native of Glamorgan. He was an eminent

Charles's Personal Rule.

lawyer who as ambassador to the Hague had negotiated the Treaty of Nimeguen in conjunction with Sir William Temple. Louis XIV supplied Charles with an income on condition that no Parliament was called. The accession of the Duke of York, an avowed Catholic, was assured, which seemed preferable to another war. Shaftesbury fled to Holland. Stringent measures were taken to place in all departments of administration Tories who upheld the Stuart doctrine of divine right of kings. Charles took special measures with regard to the Corporations. The charters of London and the large towns were forfeited,

nominally for irregularities, really for being opposed to Charles's
The Towns. despotism. When the charters were reissued he took care that men were appointed as mayors, and to the other municipal offices, who were passively obedient to his rule. Thus the Corporations obtained Tory majorities which, in their turn, would elect Tory members of Parliament when necessary.

The Whigs were not expected slavishly to acquiesce in these high-handed measures. Violent schemes were soon set in motion. The most brutal of these was one to murder Charles and
Rye House Plot, 1683. his brother James, at the Rye House, between London and Newmarket. The leader was Colonel Rumbold, who had served under Cromwell. The wild plot failed, and the conspirators were condemned. Unfortunately, other prominent men were implicated on very insufficient grounds. Algernon Sidney and Lord William Russell were executed. Monmouth fled to Holland. The Earl of Essex committed suicide in the Tower.

Charles's triumph could not now be questioned, though it was of short duration. He died on February 6, 1685, having received ab-
Death of Charles II. solution privately from a Roman Catholic priest, just before the end. In one aspect of his two-fold policy he had been thoroughly successful, for he had restored Stuart absolutism. In the second aspect he had failed: he could not restore Catholicism. Nothing but consummate cleverness, coupled with infinite daring, could have brought him that much success; and that it was due solely to his masterly handling of circumstances was shown by the ignominious fate of his less gifted brother. Nothing, however, can hide his dishonourable and odious methods; while his relations with the King of France are the most disreputable and infamous in our annals.

CHIEF DATES.

The Cavalier Parliament		1661-1679
Corporation Act		1661
Act of Uniformity		1662
Final Breach between the	Nonconformists and the	
Church of England		1662
Conventicle Act		1664
Second Dutch War		1665-1667
The Plague		1665
Five Mile Act		1665
Peace of Breda		1667
Triple Alliance		1668

Secret Treaty of Dover	1670
Third Dutch War	1672-1674
Test Act	1673
Popish Plot.	1678
Exclusion Bill	1679-1680
Arbitrary Rule of Charles II	1681-1685
Rye House Plot	1683

NOTES.

1. Clarendon, 1661-1667.

(a) Home Policy. Religious. Fierce persecution of the Nonconformists as shown in the Clarendon Code, viz.—

1661. Corporation Act.

1662. Act of Uniformity.

1664. Conventicle Act.

1665. Five Mile Act.

(b) Foreign Policy. Alliance with France. Hence :—

(i) Marriage of Charles with Catharine of Braganza, and the cession of Bombay to England.

(ii) Cession of Dunkirk to France, 1662.

(iii) Dutch War, 1665-1667. Four Days' Battle off North Foreland, 1666. Dutch in the Medway, 1667. Treaty of Breda, 1667.

Note the colonial acquisitions of England in America.

(c) Fall of Clarendon. Due to—

(i) His opposition to the Commons' demand for " Appropriation of Supplies "; and his championship of the royal prerogative.

(ii) Sale of Dunkirk, etc.

2. The Cabal, 1667-1673.

Note that its members were disunited, Charles himself having a fixed purpose, viz. to rule absolutely and restore Catholicism, depending on Louis XIV for supplies.

Foreign Policy. To check the growth of France. Hence the Triple Alliance, 1668, between England, Holland and Sweden. Louis at once sets himself to break it up; and Charles assists him. Hence the Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670-1671, and the Second Dutch War, 1672-1673, with the connivance of Arlington.

Home Policy. (i) Stop of the Exchequer, 1672.

(ii) Declaration of Indulgence, 1672.

(iii) The Test Act, 1673.

This led immediately to the break-up of the Cabal, Shaftesbury and Buckingham leading the opposition to Charles.

3. Danby, 1674-1678 (d. 1712).

(i) Home Policy. His main object was to secure for Charles a majority in the House of Commons. His chief weapons were (a) bribery; he was the first minister to buy votes in the House of Commons on a large scale; (b) persecution of the Protestants, for the Commons were intensely Anglican. Note opposition of Shaftesbury.

(ii) Foreign Policy. Opposition to France. Hence the Orange marriage in 1677. This alliance made Louis XIV furious.

- (iii) His fall. It was due to—
- (a) The Popish Plot of Titus Oates, 1678, for it made the country suspicious that he abetted Charles's catholicising tendencies.
 - (b) Revelation of the secret treaties by Louis XIV; Danby having been inveigled into taking part in one of the transactions.
- (iv) Later history. Was made Marquis of Carmarthen and Duke of Leeds under William III, whom he with others invited to England. Was Lord President of the Council in 1699.
4. Shaftesbury (Ashley). The chief steps in his career were—
- (1). He was a member of the council of government under the Protectorate.
 - (ii) As Lord Ashley, a member of the Cabal. Opposed the "Stop of the Exchequer," and supported the Test Act.
 - (iii) His discreditable use of the Popish Plot in bringing about the fall of Danby.
 - (iv) His brief supremacy in 1679. Habeas Corpus Act passed by him. But his part in the Exclusion Bill, advocating the succession of Monmouth, brought about his ruin. Fled to Holland.



5. Colonial Development.

- (a) The acquisition of *Jamaica* by Cromwell gave English colonial

development a great impetus, and increased our commerce in the West Indies.

Maryland, 1632.

Rhode Island, founded by Roger Williams.

In 1643 several colonies, such as Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and Newhaven, had united to form the confederation of the United Colonies of New England.

New Amsterdam was acquired by the Treaty of Breda, 1667.

Carolina, with its capital, Charlestown, founded in 1663. Like the West Indian Islands, it enjoyed a tropical climate, and the plantations were worked by slave labour.

New Jersey, founded a few years later.

Pennsylvania, 1681. The colony was settled by William Penn, on account of the persecution in England. Its capital was called Philadelphia.

(b) The acquisition of Bombay and Madras proved to be the foundations of our great Indian Empire.

6. Dutch Wars.

First Dutch War, 1652-1654. Cromwell.

Second " " 1665-1667. Charles II.

Third " " 1672-1674. " "

Hence the growth of British naval supremacy at the expense of Holland.

CHAPTER VI

JAMES II. 1685-1688

Born 1633 ; married (1) 1661. Anne Hyde, d. 1671 ; (2) 1673, Mary of Modena, d. 1718.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES :—

France. Louis XIV (1643-1715).

Holland. William III (1671-1702).

Character of James—Risings of Argyle and Monmouth—The Bloody Assize—Arbitrary rule—Suspending and Dispensing Power—Blunders—Declarations of Indulgence—Acquittal of the Bishops—Invitation to William of Orange—William's Difficulties—Flight of James—Accession of William and Mary—Declaration of Rights—England in the seventeenth century—Constitutional—Colonial—Agricultural—Commercial.

JAMES ascended the throne without a murmur. The Tory parson preached loyalty and obedience to absolutism ; the Tory landlord **James II.** emphasised it on the Bench with whips and fetters of iron. The King had his brother's purpose—to restore Catholicism, and rule answerable to no one. Although a good man of business, he had none of his brother's extraordinary astuteness and resource. Obstinate and narrow-minded, his experience as High Admiral did not avail him in political quicksands. He had the courage of his convictions, a virtue which, by a curious irony, brought him to ruin. For, not satisfied with being himself allowed to attend mass openly, he dared to impose his religion on an unwilling nation, and lost his crown in the attempt.

Parliament met in May, 1685. The Ministers were Tories, Rochester as Treasurer, and his brother Clarendon Lord Privy Seal. James had already excited uneasiness by authorising the collection of taxes before Parliament met. Nevertheless, he was **Blind Loyalty.** immediately voted an ample revenue of £2,000,000 a year for life. Titus Oates and the perjured informers of Popish Plot notoriety were made to suffer condign punishment, few men being moved to pity by its unusual brutality.

The Whigs were not disposed to acquiesce without a challenge.

Many were refugees in Holland ; among them Argyle, leader of the Scottish Covenanters. He landed in Scotland, and **Argyle's Rising, 1685.** tried to rouse the Highlands. But the Covenanters being apathetic the attempt collapsed, and Argyle was executed. The inevitable result followed : persecution of Nonconformists marched onwards with increasing ferocity.

Simultaneously another rising was afoot. In June Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire, declaring himself the rightful heir to the throne, and trusting to receive the support of Protestants. Rejected by the gentry, he found **Monmouth's Rising, 1685.** considerable encouragement among the misguided peasants of the west. Marching towards Bristol at the head of about 5,000 troops, he was intercepted at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater, by the royal army. The peasants, miners and artisans who formed the bulk of his army fought with commendable courage and devotion, but were scattered. Monmouth was captured lurking in a ditch and executed, his pitiful appeals for mercy being in vain. The rebels were punished with barbarous cruelty. Colonel Kirke's troopers, " Kirke's lambs " as they were called, summarily hanged numerous adherents. Judge Jeffreys, a lawyer of vast ability,

The " Bloody Assize."

went on circuit to try the rest. His remorseless judgments sent a large number of victims to the scaffold, and many more to slavery in the West Indies. The affair was so cruel and disgusting that it came to be known as the " Bloody Assize " ; and Jeffreys in later years earned the unenviable notoriety of being the most brutal of English justices. Somewhat undeservedly, for he was little worse than his contemporaries. He was a native of Denbighshire, who by his great talents rose to be Lord Chief Justice in 1683 and Lord Chancellor in 1685. He died in 1689, soon after the accession of William and Mary.

The rising had an important effect, for James was deluded into believing that the nation, in its dread of civil war, would allow him to play the despot. He increased the standing army, to which he owed his easy triumph at Sedgemoor. **James plays the Despot.** On his own authority he levied customs and excise.

Having failed to persuade the Commons to repeal the Test Act, he defied Parliament and appointed Catholics to office without requiring them to take the test. When the Commons protested against these illegal appointments, Parliament was prorogued (November 20). James was rapidly undermining the loyalty even of the High

Church party, who had so recently preached passive obedience as a sacred duty.

The apprehensions of Englishmen were further excited by a sinister move on the part of Louis XIV of France. In 1685 that proud monarch revoked the Edict of Nantes. The Edict of Nantes, 1685. by which toleration was extended to the French Huguenots. Its revocation implied the suppression of Protestantism in France. Thousands of the persecuted thereupon crossed into England. Their presence here influenced the hatred against Popery and against James, because he countenanced it and was suspected of being in league with the tyrant Louis XIV. The country began seriously to reflect whether the Protestant establishment was secure in England with a Catholic Prince on the throne. The events of the following year did not allay their fears.

James's arbitrary acts were based on what he claimed to be the sovereign's right of *suspending* and *dispensing*. This meant that the king could "suspend" altogether the operation of a law when he thought fit, and "dispense" or stay the penalties incurred by the infringement of a law in any particular case. Charles II had exercised these powers when he issued his "Declaration of Indulgence" in 1672. To strengthen his position, James decided to bring a test case before the judges. He took care beforehand that the judgment would be in his favour, displacing four judges who held unfavourable opinions by others who would truckle to him. He then arranged that an action should be brought against Sir Edward Hales, a Roman Catholic who had been made a colonel in one of the regiments, on the grounds that he had not fulfilled the conditions of the Test Act. Hales pleaded that he was guarded by a dispensation from the King, and the judges decided in his favour, the Chief Justice declaring that it was "part of the King's prerogative to dispense with penal laws in particular cases."

Thus armed, James pursued a reckless course which alienated every section among his subjects. All his acts of folly emanated from perverted religious scruples. It was his attempt to restore Catholicism that was primarily responsible for his fall. A new Court of High Commission was appointed with Jeffreys at its head. Its object was to terrify the Anglican clergy into submission, and reform the Universities and the

**Acts of Folly,
1686 1687.**

Church in the interests of the Catholics. A Catholic became Bishop of Oxford, while the Bishop of London was suspended for encouraging opposition to papal tendencies. The Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, were ejected for refusing to choose as their President the Catholic Dr. Parker. He tried to compel the University of Cambridge to grant the degree of M.A. to a Benedictine monk without his taking the usual oath. Rochester was dismissed from his office of Lord Treasurer for refusing to abjure his faith, whereas the turncoat Sunderland had favours showered upon him. To overawe possible opposition, an army of 13,000 was placed on Hounslow Heath. Even they were disaffected.

Similar measures were taken in Scotland and Ireland. The penal laws which oppressed the Catholics were removed. Tyrconnel, a Roman Catholic, was sent over to conciliate the Irish and restore Catholicism. Thereby Protestant ascendancy was endangered, and the Anglicans and Presbyterians of both countries alienated.

James, however, could not build up a strong party on the narrow grounds of Catholicism. Consequently, he made a bid for Nonconformist support. His bait was toleration. He therefore issued, in 1687, the first Declaration of Indulgence, by which all penal laws against Catholics and Nonconformists were suspended. Large numbers of Nonconformist prisoners were thereby immediately set free. But James failed to realise that Nonconformity was less in harmony with Catholicism than with the Church of England. So, while it failed to win the Nonconformists, the Declaration tended to alienate the High Church party, whose loyalty had been part of their religion.

Prudence had already departed from his councils. Acts of folly followed each other in rapid succession. Another bait was thrown to the Nonconformists by remodelling in their favour the corporations, which Charles II had made hotly Anglican. He then called upon the lords-lieutenant to supply him with lists of Nonconformists and Catholics who would vote for him if called to Parliament. The country gentry were furious. But this was not the full measure of his iniquity in the eyes of the Anglicans. In 1688 he issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, adding a decree that it was to be read in all churches. This was a rash blow at the Church of England, in whose eyes toleration was a crime. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and six

Scotland and Ireland.

First Declaration of Indulgence, 1687.

Second Declaration of Indulgence, 1688.

of the Bishops, including Bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph, petitioned the King to withdraw his illegal proclamation; and to his disgust he saw that the clergy everywhere ignored it. In mad fury he declared the petition to be a seditious libel, and the seven Bishops were sent to the Tower to await their trial.

Meanwhile a son was born to James and his second wife, Mary of Modena, an event which seemed to shatter absolutely the hopes of

Birth of a Son. the nation, which looked forward to the accession of the Protestant princess Mary. For the son would be

brought up a Catholic. The universal disappointment found expression in a widespread belief that the child was not the Queen's, but had been brought into the Palace secretly, so as to secure a Catholic succession. On the other hand, the birth of a male heir encouraged James in his infatuated course. The Bishops were brought to trial, the prosecution being conducted by Sir William Williams, the Solicitor-General, formerly Speaker of the Commons. The issue was momentous. On June 30, 1688, they were acquitted. Scenes of

Acquittal of the Bishops.

boisterous rejoicings followed; the soldiers quartered on Hounslow Heath joined in the chorus of applause, while the Bishops were honoured with a triumphal

procession.

Fortunately, in this crisis, the Duke of Monmouth was out of the way, so that both Whigs and Tories could combine in favour of

The Invitation to William of Orange.

William of Orange and Mary when the hour came. Representatives of both parties, indeed, had already sent a secret invitation to William asking him to come and defend the liberties of England. James had become intolerable.

Still William's mission was of necessity precarious, even when Whigs like Devonshire, Tories like Danby, and Bishops like Compton of

William's Difficulties.

London, were unanimous in the invitation. In the first place, James had a standing army, which, if it proved loyal, would be a formidable weapon against rebels

and invaders. Thus had things altered since the Civil War, which had been fought by the adherents on either side. This difficulty, however, diminished in the light of the army demonstrations on the acquittal of the Bishops. It dwindled to still smaller proportions when William was secretly informed that John Churchill, soon to prove himself, as Duke of Marlborough, the ablest soldier of his time, was prepared to desert his sovereign. Secondly, William was obliged to bring with him a Dutch army, and the victory of

alien troops over an English force might alienate national feeling. Circumstances were to show that this fear was unfounded.

The most serious difficulty arose out of the active hostility between William and Louis XIV, the public enemy of Europe. The Dutch could ill spare William, for his unflagging zeal alone could save them from Louis. William, however, saw that with England actively on his side, the struggle would not be so uneven. The alliance between Louis and James was fraught with grave peril to the little Republic. The birth of a son to James, which threatened England with a Catholic succession, heightened the danger. For the moment, Louis was prepared to lend James a fleet to prevent William's landing. Himself fully confident that civil war was inevitable, which would prevent England interfering actively abroad, he decided to pursue his continental projects, and attacked the Emperor on the Rhine frontier. He little thought what profitable use William would make of the temporary withdrawal of French troops to other scenes of war.

On November 5, 1688, William with a Dutch army of 14,000 landed at Torbay, without opposition. In a declaration which he had already issued to Scotland and England, he declared his mission to be the restoration of a free Parliament, **William lands, Nov. 5, 1688.** and not the usurpation of a throne. At first the country gentry were disinclined to commit themselves,

though William received some accession of strength on his march to London. Danby, however, roused the north country in his favour. Churchill, James's favourite soldier, deserted to William as arranged, followed by numerous regiments. Even James's daughter Anne, and her husband Prince George of Denmark, deserted. Seeing his cause crumbling to dust, the king fled to London on December 11. The Queen and her son were hurried across to France, and shortly afterwards James tried to escape, was captured, and brought back. A few days later he attempted another flight.

Flight of James. This time he was allowed to go, for it made William's position less embarrassing. While James remained in the country he was still King, and many hesitated to abandon him. His flight amounted to abdication, and the most loyal of his subjects could now withdraw their allegiance, for there was neither King nor Government for the time.

(onsistent with his declaration, William promptly summoned an assembly. It consisted of those who had sat in the Parliaments of

Charles II, together with representatives from the city of London.

Convention Parliament. This assembly gave over the control of affairs into William's hands provisionally. He, in turn, summoned a Convention Parliament, similar to the one which had called Charles II to the throne in 1660. It assembled on January 22, 1689, the Whigs being in a majority. But the throne was vacant, and absolute unity of purpose was necessary to settle the terms on which the new sovereign was to occupy it. Whigs and Tories therefore joined in passing two resolutions, declaring (1) that James, by leaving the country, had abdicated; and (2) that the safety and welfare of the country required that it should not be governed by a Roman Catholic.

There was some hesitation before the throne was conferred upon William and Mary. Some High Church Tories, who believed conscientiously in the divine authority of Kings, wished James still to hold the Crown, with William as Regent. **Accession of William and Mary.** Failing this, to allow Mary to be Queen alone. Neither William nor Mary could agree to this. It was evident that they must rule jointly if the country was to be saved from the agonies of civil strife. The terms on which they were to rule were embodied in the famous Declaration of Rights; and having accepted them, William and Mary were declared King and Queen, the survivor to rule alone on the death of either. They were also acknowledged King and Queen of Scotland, after promising to establish Presbyterianism as the form of Church government there.

After recapitulating the unconstitutional acts of James II, the Declaration of Rights, afterwards passed as a statute in the Bill of

The Declaration of Rights, 1689. Rights in the autumn of 1689, declared—
1. The pretended power of suspending or dispensing with the laws as assumed of late is illegal.

2. The late Court of Ecclesiastical Commission and all other such courts are illegal.

3. Levying money without consent of Parliament is illegal.

4. Keeping a standing army in time of peace, unless with consent of Parliament, is illegal.

5. Subjects have a right to petition the King.

6. The election of members of Parliament ought to be free.

7. Freedom of speech and debate in Parliament ought not to be questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

8. Excessive fines must not be imposed.

9. For redress of all grievances and for the strengthening of the laws Parliament ought to be held frequently.

10. William and Mary are declared King and Queen of England, and all who are Papists or who shall marry a Papist are declared incapable of possessing the Crown.

After the deaths of William and Mary, the Crown was to go to their children, if they had any ; if not, to the Princess Anne and her children, and failing them, to William's children by any other wife. This last provision was, in fact, in accordance with hereditary claim. For after Mary and Anne William himself stood next to the English throne, as being descended from the eldest daughter of Charles I, provided, of course, that the children of James by Mary of Modena were excluded. Thus culminated the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688.

The Bill of Rights brings to an end a struggle between King and Parliament which had been going on throughout the seventeenth century. The Tudors had ruled as absolute monarchs. They had been the executive ; in other words, they had directed policy. At the same time they had been careful to frame that policy so as not to clash with the interests of Parliament and the nation. The Stuart Kings tried to emulate the absolutism of the Tudors, but in defiance of Parliament. The effort failed. Parliament triumphed, making the monarchy dependent upon it. The Revolution of 1688 changed the character of the monarchy, as well as the succession. Nothing more is heard of "divine right." The King no longer directs policy. This becomes the work of the executive, consisting of ministers responsible to Parliament. The Commons now become the most important part of the legislature. It should be noted that the actual consummation under James II was somewhat sudden, for during the last few years of his reign Charles II was more absolute than any of the Stuarts. The unexpected fall of James II was due to his religious policy—the restoration of Catholicism. It was on these grounds that he alienated the Church, the Universities, the Corporations, Scotland and the country gentry.

(i) **Constitutional.**

Significance

of the Bill of Rights.

(ii) **Colonial Development.**

nies in North America and the West Indies were expanding, the British colonist being superior to all others in energy and initiative. The political and religious principles of Britain found new soil. In the course of the next century we were to seize the colonies which France had built up so laboriously. Some of our settlements had been founded by persecuted pilgrims. Others were the outcome of trading enterprise.

The growth of trade and commerce went hand in hand with colonial development. The Dutch wars ultimately transferred the

(iii) **Trade.** Dutch carrying trade to English bottoms. Trading settlements had been established in the east, which were the seeds of our great Indian Empire of to-day. The French were there, too, but as in America, the Briton triumphed. In fact, Britain under the Stuarts became the chief trading as well as commercial power. It was then, and long afterwards, thought well to protect the English trader, not only against the foreigner, but against the colonists, Scotland, and Ireland. There should be no competition with the English trader. The volume of trade thereby suffered; and in Scotland and America there were serious results. The growth of commerce made the trading classes more influential in directing policy at home; and it enabled us to provide armies and fleets to break the power of Louis XIV. Commercial and economic questions receive greater prominence at the end of the century. What principles should govern trade and the distribution of wealth? It was then firmly believed

The Mercantile System. vital to our commercial prosperity that the country's exports should exceed its imports; that otherwise gold would leave the country to pay for the balance in imports; that this drain of gold made the nation poorer. This was the "Mercantile System." It implied, falsely, that silver and gold were the only wealth; and much energy was wasted in producing what we could buy cheaper elsewhere.

As yet England was a commercial and agricultural rather than a great manufacturing country. The Revocation of the Edict of

(iv) **Manu-
facture.** Nantes by Louis XIV drove a large number of skilled enterprising artisans to England, which gave a stimulus to our manufactures. At the beginning

of the century the settlement of Flemish weavers here had a similar result. Woollen cloths were our chief product, and formed the chief part of our exports. There were no large factories; no elaborate machinery; spinning and weaving were for the most part house-

hold occupations, the home producing enough for its own requirements, and a little for sale. There were no large towns except London and Bristol; no large industrial centres.

Just as foreign craftsmen and weavers stimulated British trade, so Dutch engineers encouraged agriculture by improving our drainage system. This was particularly the case in the (v) Agriculture. Fen district, which now for the first time became a land of smiling prosperity, the old swamps by an elaborate system of drainage becoming rich with cornfields. The yeomen dwindled in numbers, the poorer having to work for wages as labourers under more prosperous landlords.

CHIEF DATES.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes	1685
Battle of Sedgemoor	1685
First Declaration of Indulgence	1687
Dissolution of Parliament	1687
Second Declaration of Indulgence	1688
Birth of an Heir	1688
Acquittal of the Bishops	1688
William of Orange lands	1688
Accession of William and Mary	1689



CHAPTER VII

WILLIAM III AND MARY II. 1689-1694.

WILLIAM III. 1694-1702.

William, born 1650; married 1677. Mary, born 1662.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS:—

France. Louis XIV (1643-1715).

Spain. Charles II (1665-1700).

Philip V (1700-1746).

Why William was unpopular—Nonjurors—Mutiny Act—Ireland—Scotland—War with France—Treaty of Ryswick—Darien Scheme—National Debt—Bank of England—Triennial Act—Cabinet and Party Government—Tacking—Act of Settlement—Spanish Succession and Partition Treaties—Grand Alliance.

WILLIAM III found the circumstances of his new position very embarrassing. The Whigs interpreted his accession as a party triumph for themselves, a view which clashed with William's Difficulties: William's resolve not to become the tool of any faction. Why unpopular. He included Whigs and Tories in his ministry, to the keen disappointment of the Whigs. Moreover, his Calvinism grated most harshly in the ears of High Churchmen, even those who had consented to waive their belief in hereditary right for the good of the nation. Again, William could not forget that some of the most influential Tories had played a dark, sinister game with James II, treasonable practices which might be repeated on himself. He was therefore compelled to place his confidence in his Dutch followers, a thing repulsive to English pride, and an additional source of discord.

The most outspoken opponent of William's practice of making grants to foreigners was Robert Price of Denbighshire. In 1695 Robert Price. one of the King's favourites, William Bentinck, who had already become Earl of Portland, received a grant of the lordships of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale. This "submitting of 1,500 Welsh freeholders to the will of a Dutch lord," said

Price, "was putting them in a worse posture than they were under the Normans." He also asserted that the King could not give away the inheritance of the Prince of Wales without the consent of Parliament. The grant was therefore recalled; and a resolution was passed that "to procure or pass exorbitant grants by any member of the Privy Council was a high crime and misdemeanour." For his conspicuous courage Price was called "The Patriot of his native country."

What was William's personality in face of these factions, and greater dangers abroad? A feeble constitution; cold and silent disposition; an entire absence of the superficial graces of court decorum. On the other hand, the austerity of the Calvinists to whom he belonged; a bold, intrepid, heroic spirit; resolution, and strong purpose. With undaunted courage he laboured against tremendous odds; he saved Holland; gave internal peace to England; and undermined the power of Louis XIV, the enemy of European peace.

The Convention was immediately changed into a regular Parliament, the first acts of which showed clearly the character of the new monarchy. The two previous sovereigns had been voted a revenue for life; but William was granted only an annual income of about £700,000 to support the Crown, a very modest sum in comparison with that granted to James II. This grant was called the Civil List. Other taxes for carrying on the Government, were to be voted by the Commons from time to time. The Commons now finally established the principle of "Appropriation of Supplies," and secured complete control of the public purse by demanding estimates of what money is raised, and an account of how it is spent.

Religious questions required delicate handling. The Nonconformists were still prostrate under the heel of persecution. High Churchmen had a holy horror of Nonconformity. Fortunately, a more reasonable view prevailed among another section of the clergy, the Low Churchmen or Latitudinarians. Consequently, a Toleration Act was passed which repealed the Conventicle Act. This was moderate enough, for it simply conceded to the Nonconformists—though not to the Unitarians—the right to worship, leaving in force other penal laws, such as the Test Act. Yet it was a step towards the principle of religious liberty. A Comprehension Bill, by which it was proposed

**His
Character.**

**The Civil
List.**

**Partial
Toleration,
1689.**

to make the basis of the Church broader so as to include moderate Protestants, failed to pass.

The High Church party disliked the Toleration Act, modest as it was; to them William's Presbyterianism was very unsavoury.

Many of the clergy were firm believers in divine right and passive obedience; so that when Parliament

The Non-jurors. required all who held office in Church or State to take an oath of allegiance to William and Mary, Archbishop Sancroft and several of the bishops, including Bishop Lloyd of Llandaff, together with about 300 clergymen refused, and were, of necessity, deprived of their benefices. They were called the Non-jurors. Their places were filled by Low Churchmen. The secession has little significance, for the clergy were followed by few laymen, though it stood as a noble expression of the loyalty which the Stuart Kings had evoked.

Another of the preliminary measures of the reign was the Mutiny Act, of extreme significance in its bearing on the relations between

Mutiny Act. King and Parliament. It was occasioned by the

mutiny of a regiment of English soldiers who were jealous of William's Dutch troops. The Act enabled William to keep a standing army, but only for a year. Unless renewed annually it lapsed, and the army thereby ceased to exist. Thus, the standing army, which came into existence first under Charles II was made entirely dependent upon the Commons, and could no longer be used by the King to make himself independent of Parliament. Secondly, William was compelled to summon Parliament every year to renew supplies. This act, together with the revenue arrangements, were important steps towards limiting the British monarchy.

The unfriendly relations between Whigs and Tories, however, put a somewhat severe strain on William's patience. For he was not a

Whigs and Tories. party man, his one desire being to compose differences and avoid an atmosphere of faction. A Bill of In-

demnity was introduced into Parliament, granting pardon for past offences. The Whigs, in their consuming passion to wreak vengeance on the Tories, wished to make numerous exceptions, among them Danby. They also sought to punish all who had taken part in the confiscation of municipal charters by Charles II. William objected to it, threatening to leave England and allow Mary to rule alone unless this vindictive policy were abandoned. Soon, he dissolved Parliament, and in January, 1690, a Tory majority was returned. An Act of Grace was then passed pardoning past political

offences, with very few exceptions. This done, William gave his attention to Ireland, a less irksome task.

Tyrconnel, James's Deputy, was labouring assiduously to rid Ireland of the Protestantism which had been foisted upon it. He had a wider ambition, viz., to uproot English rule on **Ireland.**

Irish soil and make Ireland independent. However, his immediate need was to supply James with an army with which to conquer England. James landed there in March, 1689, and called a Parliament at Dublin. Preponderantly Catholic, it annulled Charles II's Act of Settlement, which had stated what lands were to be left to the English Protestant settlers. Hostilities began. The scattered settlers in the south were soon overwhelmed, but the strength of the Protestants was in Ulster, where Londonderry and Enniskillen became their two principal strongholds.

Londonderry was besieged by the Irish Catholic army. A boom was thrown across the river Foyle. Therefore it became impossible

Siege of for the plentiful supplies sent from England to reach
Londonderry, the hard-pressed garrison, who, however, held out with
1689. remarkable tenacity. They were on the verge of

starvation when a merchant ship broke through the boom (July 30). Supplies were thrown into the beleaguered city; whereupon the besiegers, disheartened, raised the siege, which had lasted 105 days. Three days later the men of Enniskillen defeated a Catholic army at Newton Butler. Still the Protestants were fewer than the Catholics, and assistance was urgent.

William therefore sent over General Schomberg, a Huguenot general who had sought refuge in England after the Revocation of

William the Edict of Nantes. Louis of France, too, sent a
lands in strong force across to assist the Irish Catholics. About
Ireland, 1690. the middle of June, 1690, William himself landed at

Carrickfergus and marched towards Dublin, where Schomberg was operating against James, who was then holding the line of the Boyne.

The English and Dutch fleets had been left under the command of Lord Torrington, who had already suffered a reverse at the hands

Battle of of the French fleet off Bantry Bay. Worse was in
Beachy Head, store. The French navy under Tourville issued from
June 30. port and Torrington attacked them. Clumsy seamanship

on the part of the combined fleets, assisted by the superior numbers of the French, gave Tourville a decisive victory, and with it the control of the Channel. Fortunately for the English

Tourville did not drive home his advantage, and the English fleet was able soon to put to sea again.

Affairs were assuming a different complexion in Ireland, on the banks of the Boyne. By a flank movement William succeeded in forcing the passage of the river just above Drogheda, a movement which gave him an overwhelming victory.

Battle of the Boyne, July 1. Schomberg had fallen, but the French and Irish were in headlong flight. William took Dublin, while James fled to France, which sealed the fate of his cause in Ireland. The outstanding feature of the rest of the campaign was the magnificent resolution with which the Irish held Limerick under their valiant leader, Sarsfield. In spite of its weak defences, William had failed to capture it when he left for England, bequeathing the task to Churchill, already created Earl of Marlborough. The south submitted with the fall of Cork. Sweeping into Connaught, the Dutchman Ginkel defeated Tyronnel and St. Ruth, the French general, at Aughrim, where the Frenchman was slain. The last stand was at Limerick, which capitulated in October, 1691.

The Treaty of Limerick, that is, the terms of capitulation, provided that (1) Roman Catholics who took the oath of allegiance should enjoy the same liberties of worship as were granted them by Charles II; (2) all Irish soldiers who wished should leave for France, in consequence of which Sarsfield and his troops forsook their country to fight for Louis XIV; (3) there should be a general amnesty. But the Irish Parliament, once more Protestant—for Catholics were banned—refused to be bound by these terms when it met in 1695. On the contrary, it passed a series of heinous penal laws. The Irish Catholics were deprived of political rights; they were reduced to abject poverty by having their lands confiscated, and their industries were throttled for the benefit of their English rivals. Protestant ascendancy was restored by and in the interests of a Protestant minority by methods more revolting than even Ireland had hitherto experienced.

Scotland, still separate from England, accepted the expulsion of James II with unfeigned joy. In April, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen. A nation of **Scotland.** presbyters, they had no love for prelacy, which had been imposed upon them by the Stuart kings. Presbyterianism was therefore restored, Episcopalians being relegated to the position of

the Nonconformists in England, in that they had to set up churches of their own. But there was no persecution.

Unhappily there was bloodshed, fair and foul. In the Highlands clan rivalries were still more powerful than dynastic questions. The Campbells, the great Whig clan of Argyle, declared **Battle of Killiecrankie, 1689.** for William. The Macdonalds and other lesser clans therefore declared for James, led by John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, the "Bonny Dundee" of song and story. Mackay was sent to put them down. In July, 1689, in the Pass of Killiecrankie, the dashing Viscount and his Highlanders fell upon him with characteristic fury. A brilliant victory was assured when Dundee fell; Mackay suddenly rallied and made a skilful retreat. Leaderless, the Highlanders lost courage, and after a few reverses scattered to their homes.

Resistance was already dead, when a ghastly instance of clannish vindictiveness made Scotland shudder. The Highland chieftains were to swear allegiance to William before January 1, 1692. The Macdonalds of Glencoe in Argyleshire **Massacre of Glencoe, 1692.** had not sworn before the responsible magistrate on the last day of 1691. One of William's chief advisers in Scotland was the Master of Stair, John Dalrymple. Burning with hatred against "that set of thieves," he sought and obtained from William permission to extirpate them. Some of Argyle's troops were sent to the glen, and, feigning friendship, were received generously. One night they fell upon the unsuspecting clansmen and slaughtered them to a man. William himself was ignorant of the foul treachery, and dismissed the Master of Stair. Nevertheless the horrible deed threw the Highlanders irrevocably into the arms of the Jacobites.

William, now secure in the British Isles, felt himself free to apply himself to the great object of his life, viz. to stay the course of the great monarch of France, whose acts of wanton aggression were

ever becoming more menacing. In doing so he would **War with France.** rid Holland of a pressing danger and strangle the Jacobite cause. In 1691 he succeeded in drawing together the Grand Alliance, a formidable coalition, including England, Holland, Spain, and the Empire, against Louis. His first step was to wipe out the memory of the disaster at Beachy Head.

This was soon done. Louis, contemplating an invasion of England to replace the Stuart on the throne, commanded Tourville to attack the English fleet, now **La Hogue, May, 1692.**

under the command of Russell. The fleets met in the Channel. Sixteen of Tourville's best ships, being driven aground off La Hogue in Normandy, were utterly destroyed by an English flotilla. The result was two-fold. It finally dispelled any lingering hopes of James's restoration ; and the command of the Channel, temporarily transferred to France, was once more restored to the English and Dutch navies.

On land, however, nothing could prevail against the might of Louis. In the summer his armies under Luxembourg were marching on Brussels when William crossed their path at Steinkirk, 1692. He was defeated, though the French were constrained to halt. A similar result attended William's

efforts in the following summer. He and Luxembourg met at Landen or Neerwinden in the Netherlands. Victory went to the Frenchman, who, however, was unable to profit by it.

Landen, 1693. After each successive defeat William seemed to possess unrivalled skill in rallying his troops. Some weeks before the French fleet had made a valuable capture, the Smyrna merchant fleet of English and Dutch ships, laden with treasure, falling into its clutches. The tale of disaster was not yet complete. In the following year an expedition was sent against Brest under the Dutchman Talmash. Marlborough, being jealous of him, revealed his plans. The expedition failed, and Talmash was killed. His treachery being as yet unrevealed, the Duke was placed in command.

The summer of 1695 brought with it a brighter prospect, for Namur surrendered to William. Both sides, now becoming exhausted by

the strain of war, were anxious for peace. In 1697 **Treaty of Ryswick, 1697.** the Peace of Ryswick was agreed upon. (1) Louis was to resign the conquests he had made since

the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678. (2) He recognised William as King of England, with Anne as his successor. (3) The chief fortresses on the frontiers of the Netherlands were placed in the hands of the Dutch. That Louis should have agreed to such terms was a proof of William's far-seeing statesmanship, for he had succeeded in checking the advance of France. It was also a practical admission of defeat on the part of Louis, who, however, was doubtless animated by a desire to husband his resources for a more comprehensive scheme, for the question of the Spanish Succession was already looming large on the horizon of European politics.

William's wars involved the country in enormous expenses, which

the ordinary revenue could not meet. The land-tax, a tax placed on the annual rent from land, was rearranged so as to increase the country's revenue, but it did not prove sufficient to meet the additional expenditure. Other financial methods had to be adopted, for which the skilful and eminent financier, Charles Montague, was mainly responsible.

**Financial
Legislation.**

Montague adopted the plan of a shrewd Scot, named Paterson, and raised a loan which, unlike previous loans, was not to be repaid immediately. Those who lent money were to receive from the Government a fixed interest on the loan regularly. The loan became the nucleus of the National Debt, originating in January, 1693. The interest payable was to be an annual charge on the revenue. Moreover, the lenders were

**The National
Debt, 1693.**

**The Bank
of England,
1694.**

formed into a banking company, which came to be known as the Bank of England. It received certain privileges in that its stability was guaranteed by the Government, and it replaced the goldsmiths upon whom previous kings had relied for loans. This scheme reacted forcibly on the commercial prosperity of the country; for people would be more ready to lend their money to the Bank on interest than to the old goldsmiths; and the Bank in its turn lent money to merchants to start new enterprises. It also made William more secure on his throne; for the merchants who lent money to the Government through the Bank would not be inclined to

**Reform of the
Currency,
1695.**

support James, who, if successful, would certainly repudiate loans contracted by the Government of William. Montague also reformed the Currency, the coinage then in vogue having suffered considerably in weight and value by the pernicious system of clipping. In this his chief agent was the famous scientist Sir Isaac Newton, who was made Master of the Mint. Montague also started in 1696 the system of issuing Exchequer bills for the repayment of loans.

During these years, too, other advances were being made in the direction of a wider liberty. In 1694 the Triennial Bill was passed.

**Triennial
Act, 1694.**

It enacted that no Parliament should last more than three years, and that three years should not pass without a Parliament being summoned. William, who had at first opposed the measure, gave his consent when he began to put himself entirely in the hands of the Whigs. In the

following year the censorship of the Press was abolished, a reform which led immediately to the appearance of political pamphlets and newspapers. In 1695 also a Treason Act was passed, regulating

**Liberty of
the Press,
1695.**

trials for treason. It allowed the prisoner to have a copy of the indictment and a list of jurors some days before his trial; the witnesses were to be examined on oath; and at least two witnesses were necessary for conviction. Hitherto prisoners had not even the right of calling witnesses. The Attorney-General, who was chiefly responsible for these beneficial Acts, was the Welshman Sir Thomas Trevor, who became Lord Chief Justice in 1727.

An untoward circumstance which embittered feelings between England and Scotland was the Darien Scheme. Paterson, whose acute brain conceived the scheme which set up the Bank of England, floated a project by which the Isthmus of Darien, or Panama, was to be colonised by a body of Scots, and converted into a trading station so as to control the commerce between the Atlantic and the Pacific. A few thousand Scots thereupon emigrated. The plan collapsed miserably. Its failure was due partly to the hostility of the Spaniards, but mainly to the indifference and jealousy of the English, who showed no inclination to protect the Scots when attacked, and who considered the project detrimental to the interests of English merchants. But England and Scotland were not yet united; and Scotland, like other foreign countries, was looked upon as a rival of England in trade and colonisation. The Scottish Parliament should not have encouraged adventurers without the means of establishing a settlement. However, the result increased discontent, and supplied a forcible reason in favour of the union of the two countries.

Mary had died in December, 1694. She carried with her to the grave any chances William might have had of winning popularity;

**Death of
Mary, 1694.**

for she was bright where he was morose; English in sentiment while he was Dutch. Nor did the two political parties attempt to smoothe his path. William's government consisted of Whigs and Tories, the one party jealous of and thwarting the other; the Whigs in favour of war and the Tories generally against it. The Tories in particular tolerated William with very ill grace.

William's court, meanwhile, was a hotbed of disaffection and treachery. With good reason he could trust none of his English ministers

or generals. Russell had intrigued with James just before the engagement off La Hogue. In January, 1692, Marlborough was suspected of treasonable designs and lost his offices. William's ill-success on the Continent in the earlier campaigns gave rise to conspiracies. In 1691 Viscount Preston was convicted of plotting against the Government. In 1696 a plot was set on foot by Sir George Barclay to murder William. Sir John Fenwick, a prominent Jacobite intriguer, was implicated in it, and was executed. He was the last person condemned by an Act of Attainder. As a result of these persistent acts of treason, an association was formed to defend William and support the succession of Anne.

The complete disorganisation and want of harmony in the Government led up to important constitutional results. One of these was the development of Cabinet government and the Party System. The essence of Cabinet government is that all Ministers are agreed on the most important questions, and that they command a majority in the House of Commons. The Whigs being in favour of active hostilities abroad, William, on the advice of Sunderland, gradually chose Whigs as his Ministers. The process was gradual, and was not completed till the Hanoverians came to the throne. When Danby, barely escaping on a charge of corruption, left the Ministry, followed by Godolphin, their places were filled by Whigs. By 1696 the change had developed so far as to produce a united Ministry. It was called the Junto.

It included Charles Montague, afterwards Lord Halifax, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer since 1694, and Russell, the hero of La Hogue. Just then the Whigs had a majority in the Commons. Later in the reign they lost it, and William dismissed his Whig Ministers. Such a procedure was new and constituted an important advance in the direction of Party government. It had a twofold significance. (1) It implied that the King still retained the right to choose or dismiss his own Ministers. (2) It implied also that Parliament rules, through its majority in the House of Commons, and not the King.

An election which took place at the close of 1698 showed a pronounced reaction in favour of the Tories, due partly to the Treaty of Ryswick, which brought peace. Relieved of any pressing danger abroad, the Tories did not

Intrigue and Conspiracy.

Cabinet Government.

The Junto, 1696.

The Tory Reaction, 1698-1701.

hesitate to show their distrust of William. The army, which had recently been reduced by the Whigs with a view to winning popularity, was now further reduced to seven thousand. Further to baffle William, they dismissed his favourite Dutch regiments. William was so disgusted that he almost resigned his crown. Moreover, they brought forward a Resumption Bill, by which William's lavish grants of land in Ireland to his friends were to be resumed.

"Tacking," Fearing lest the House of Lords, which had a majority
1699. of Whigs, would reject it, they "tacked" it on to the Money Bill granting a land-tax, which the Lords could only accept or reject, but could not amend. In other words, they inserted the Resumption Bill as a clause in the Money Bill, the rejection of which would cut off the supplies of the year from that source. The Lords, therefore, were constrained to pass it.

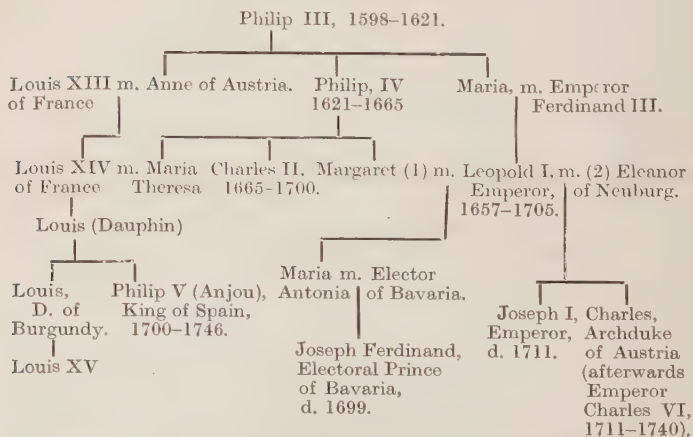
This persistent hampering of William by the Tory House of Commons compelled him to take a step of high constitutional importance in the development of Party government, though he himself was not aware of its significance. His Ministers were still Whigs, whereas the majority in the Commons were Tories. This caused considerable embarrassment, for Ministers could not carry out their policy. William was therefore compelled to accept Tory Ministers, led by Godolphin.

A new Parliament met in 1701 and the Tories were still returned in a majority. The Whig leaders, including Montague (Lord Halifax) and Somers were impeached, an attack which ultimately collapsed, for the Lords acquitted them. After events showed that the country endorsed the action of the Lords and disapproved of the violence of the House of Commons. This became manifest when the Kentishmen presented a petition asking the House of Commons to turn their "loyal addresses into bills of supply." However, before a dissolution took place an Act of Settlement, supplementing the Bill of Rights, was passed. It was made necessary by the death of the last surviving child of the Princess Anne, in 1700. It stated that on the death of Anne the crown was to pass to Sophia, Electress of Hanover. She was the daughter of Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. Being a Protestant she was given preference over nearer heirs, who were debarred because they were Catholics.

The Act of Settlement went beyond this. It imposed further

safeguards and limitations on the power of the Crown, most of which were prompted by unjustifiable hostility against **William of the Power of the Crown.** (1) The Sovereign shall not involve England, without the consent of Parliament, in foreign war in defence of the monarch's foreign dominions. (2) Judges can be removed from office only on an address from both Houses of Parliament. (3) No royal pardon can be pleaded as a bar to impeachment. These restrictions were of permanent importance ; there were others which could only be interpreted as a censure on William. Thus, the king was not to leave the country without the consent of Parliament ; no foreign pensioner was to hold office under the Crown or sit in Parliament ; State affairs were to be transacted in the Privy Council, and not in the Cabinet. These clauses, however, were repealed by Anne ; but a proviso was inserted by which members of Parliament when appointed to offices of profit under the Crown were to seek re-election. These limitations of the royal prerogative were imposed by the Tories, and serve to show how much their principles had changed since the Revolution of 1688, when most of them believed in passive obedience and divine right.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.



A question of overwhelming importance had already appeared in

European politics. Charles II of Spain was not expected to live long, and it was very doubtful who should succeed, for Charles was childless. His elder sister, Maria Theresa, had married Louis XIV, but on her marriage had renounced her rights of succession to the throne of Spain. The younger sister Margaret had married the Emperor Leopold I, and likewise had resigned her rights. The next heir was Leopold himself, through his mother Maria, Charles's aunt. The Spanish dominions were vast, and included the Spanish Netherlands, Sicily and the south of Italy, as well as extensive colonial possessions.

Hereditary claims and renunciations notwithstanding, the real question was whether these domains were to be bestowed upon either France or Austria. This was recognised to be impossible, for it would give that power too great a preponderance in Europe. Therefore France and England, without consulting Spain, agreed on the First Partition Treaty in 1698, by which the Spanish dominions were divided among the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, Philip, a grandson of Louis XIV, and the Archduke Charles, each representing the claims of Margaret, Maria Theresa and Leopold respectively. Next year the Electoral Prince died, and the arrangement fell through.

William then persuaded Louis to agree to the Second Partition Treaty in 1700, by which the Archduke Charles was to receive Spain and the greater part of the Spanish dominions, Louis receiving Milan and the two Sicilies (Sicily and Naples), a concession which gave the Bourbons the preponderating voice in Italian affairs. Spain was furious at the thought of having her Empire thus partitioned without being consulted in the matter. Charles II, already on the edge of the grave, was equally angry, and made a will by which Philip of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, was to inherit the whole of the Spanish territories. Louis accepted the will, threw treaties to the winds, and on the death of Charles in the same year the House of Bourbon was enthroned in Spain in the person of Philip V.

William was roused to action, and another Grand Alliance was formed between England, Holland and the Empire in 1701. Notwithstanding the Treaty of Ryswick, Louis seized the "barrier fortresses" on the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands; the combined fleets of France and Spain were a menace to English commerce; worst of all, on the death of

James II, in September, 1701, Louis proclaimed his son, James Edward, the old Pretender, King of England. In face of this defiance both parties in England joined hands. William dismissed his Tory Ministers. Parliament was dissolved. A tempest of anger against France swept the country. The Whigs returned to power, with enthusiastic and unmistakable resolve. Large supplies were voted for war, and the army was increased. A Bill was passed calling upon all who held office to swear to maintain the Protestant succession. William had already marshalled his resources to humble the proud monarch of France when death intervened, and robbed him of the fruits of the labour of a life-time. His horse stumbled on a mole-hill; the King fell, the injury proving fatal. He died on March 8, 1702. Marlborough had already crossed over to the Netherlands, and now becomes the pivot of the war.

Death of William, 1702.

CHIEF DATES.

See Notes.

NOTES.

1. Results of the Revolution.

- (i) The character of the monarchy was changed completely. The Stuart absolutism and monarchy by divine right was gone, giving way to a limited constitutional monarchy. The process was completed in 1714 with the accession of the Hanoverians. The period 1688-1714 may therefore be regarded as a transition period. The Crown still retained considerable power, e.g. the right to choose its own Ministers, to summon and dissolve Parliament, etc.
- (ii) The two monarchies of Scotland and England became one. The union did not take place till the reign of Anne, in 1707; but the Darien Scheme fiasco and other events in William's reign pressed forward the question.
- (iii) A period of great wars sets in, which continue, with intermissions, for more than a century. Such were the Spanish Succession Wars, the Seven Years' War, etc.
- (iv) The beginning of Religious Toleration, but only so far as to allow a person to worship as his conscience dictates. Penal laws remain for all who differ from the Anglican Church; and the Catholics of Ireland are still without the pale even of liberty to worship.
- (v) The development of the Party System and Cabinet Government.

Both William III and Anne had Ministries composed of Whigs and Tories. But there was no harmony. Hence William, by Sunderland's advice, formed a united Whig Ministry—the Junto (1696). See text. It was only possible since the House

of Commons had become supreme, for Ministers were chosen from the majority there. A clause in the Act of Settlement, which stated that affairs of state were to be transacted by the Privy Council and not by a Cabinet, was intended to check its development. This was repealed by Anne. Party government was found to be the only practicable form, the Cabinet forming a link between the Crown and Parliament. The existence of the Cabinet rests on convention and not on a legal enactment. During the eighteenth century the Cabinet became (1) unanimous on all important questions of government; (2) responsible for legislation and administration. See "Whigs and Tories," and Walpole.

With the supremacy of the Commons came great changes in our financial system, e.g. (i) National Debt, 1693; (ii) Bank of England, 1694; (iii) Reform of the Currency, 1695; (iv) Exchequer Bills, 1696.

Note instances of "Tacking" in 1699 and 1704, and the creation of peers by Bolingbroke in 1712 as illustrations of manœuvres in the party game.

2. Penal Laws against the Irish.

(a) Religious. Catholics were forbidden to sit in the Irish Parliament, or hold any office ecclesiastical, civil or military. They could not keep schools; nor could they send their children abroad to be educated; while all schools in Ireland were open to Protestants only (1696). They could not intermarry with Protestant landowners (1698). They could not take part in any municipal or Parliamentary elections. They could not carry arms.

(b) Commercial. In the interests of the British severe restrictions were placed on Irish trade and manufactures. No agricultural or dairy produce could be imported into England from Ireland (1665-1681). No wool or woollen manufactures could be exported from Ireland to any country, with the result that this trade was ruined.

3. The Revolution in Scotland and Ireland.

(a) Ireland. 1689. Siege of Londonderry. Battle of Newton Butler.

1690. Battle of the Boyne.

1691. Treaty of Limerick.

The Revolution was not accepted in Ireland on account of its Catholicism. The fighting was therefore part of a fresh Protestant conquest. Contrast Scotland.

(b) Scotland. 1689. Battle of Killiecrankie.

1692. Massacre of Glencoe.

1698-1700. The Darien Scheme.

In Scotland the Revolution as such was welcomed on account of the Protestant ascendancy. What fighting there was resulted from clan rivalry.

4. War with France, 1689-1697.

The object of the war was to check Louis's aggressions in the

Netherlands and prevent him assisting the restoration of the Stuarts.

1690. Beachy Head.

1692. La Hogue and Steinkirk.

1693. Landen. Loss of the Smyrna Fleet.

1695. William captures Namur.

1697. Treaty of Ryswick.

Towards the end of the reign England and France were again on the eve of war, the war of the Spanish Succession.

1698. First Partition Treaty.

1700. Second Partition Treaty.

1701. The Grand Alliance.

5. Legislation.

1689. Bill of Rights. Toleration Act (only partial). Mutiny Act. Parliament controls the Standing Army.

1693-1696. Financial measures.

1694. Triennial Act.

1695. Treason Act. Liberty of the Press. Brought about by William allowing to lapse the Act which empowered him to appoint a licenser whose duty it was to sanction the printing of any books or newspapers.

1701. Act of Settlement. A supplement to the Bill of Rights.

CHAPTER VIII

ANNE. 1702-1714

Born 1665; married, 1683, Prince George of Denmark.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS:—

France. Louis XIV (1643-1715).

Spain. Philip V (1700-1746).

Marlborough—War of the Spanish Succession—Methuen Treaty—Blenheim—Capture of Gibraltar—Ramillies—Oudenarde—Malplaquet—Brihuega—Union of England and Scotland—Whigs and Tories—Why the Whigs fell—Treaty of Utrecht—Bolingbroke.

THE first task of the new sovereign was to carry on the work bequeathed by William III—to fight France. The task devolved upon the Duke of Marlborough, the outstanding figure of the reign. Anne was gentle, unobtrusive, good-hearted; entirely submissive to favourites, especially to her strong-willed, imperious friend, the famous Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough. The Duke's character is not attractive. His motive was selfish—to wield supreme power; his methods base and treacherous. As a soldier he reached unquestionable greatness. A master of strategy, his swift, bold strokes and unexpected tactics utterly confounded his enemies. His achievements are among the most dazzling in our military annals. As a statesman he showed much foresight, though he was unprincipled in his dealings with the two political parties. He read little, wrote less, and that inaccurately. His manners were charming, and his oratory persuasive and convincing; which enabled him to have his own way at home and abroad, although the traditions of his party were averse to war.

The Government which came into power at the end of William's reign was Whig. Marlborough, a Tory, prevailed upon Anne to substitute Tories, such as Rochester and Nottingham, for the Whigs, so that the Ministry became for the most part Tory, under the leadership of Marlborough and his friend Godolphin. For the present all were agreed on war. Soon, the ardour of the extreme Tories cooled, and they were replaced by moderate Tories, or by Whigs who gave Marlborough unflinching support, and voted him the necessary supplies for the War of the Spanish Succession.

This war was waged in several quarters: in Italy the Austrians under Eugene fought the French for Milan; on sea the English fleet contended with those of Spain and France; in the Netherlands Marlborough, as Captain-general of the English and Dutch, kept the French from Holland. The chief powers on the side of the Allies, then, were England, Holland and Austria. Marshalled against this Grand Alliance were the armies of France, Spain, and Bavaria, almost alone of the German States.

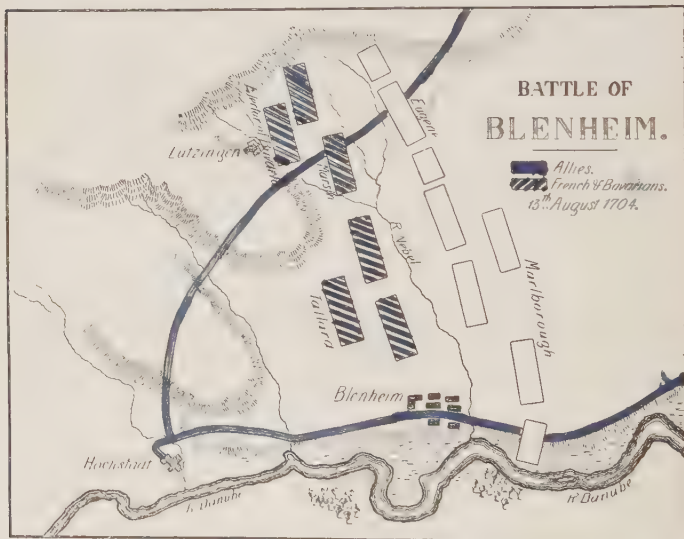
The campaigns were already begun when the Methuen Treaty between England and Portugal brought that country into the alliance. By it Portugal engaged to give a free market to English wool, while England on her part agreed to admit Portuguese wines at a third less duty than those of France. Henceforth port wine became a popular beverage in England.

Marlborough soon gave ample evidence of his capacity as a general. The Spanish Netherlands, which had hitherto formed a buffer state between France and Holland, were now under French control. This was not Marlborough's only difficulty. He was much hampered by the jealousy and distrust of the Dutch. Nevertheless, in 1702 he took Liège, and gradually beat back the French from fortresses which were thought to be impregnable. Holland was thus saved, and had no reason to fear an immediate attack.

A critical situation arose in 1704, for the combined armies of France and Bavaria were striking at the heart of Austria—Vienna. Louis XIV confidently hoped that the capture of that city would compel Austria to submit. The fate of Europe depended upon Marlborough, who, hundreds of miles away from the point of danger, was shackled by the stubborn reluctance of the Dutch to leave their frontiers, and the inability of the Government at home to realise how grave was the peril. Fortunately, Marlborough was fully alive to the danger, and had the daring to strike. Deceiving the Dutch as to his intentions he left the Dutch border, entered the valley of the Danube, and threw himself into Bavaria. In July, 1704, he scattered the Bavarians at Donauwörth. Prince Eugene and the Austrians joined him. At Blenheim, in Bavaria, they came upon Marshal Tallard and the French. On

**Donauwörth,
July, 1704.**

August 13, 1704, the famous battle was fought. Prince Eugene on the right was opposed to Marsin. In the centre Marlborough faced Tallard. The English left rested on the Danube. Between the two armies flowed the river Nebel, a tributary of the Danube. By a vigorous attack on their flanks Marlborough led the French to draw upon their centre for support. He then delivered his main attack on their weakened centre, which he pierced by a series of brisk, vigorous onslaughts.



The Franco-Bavarian left wing retreated. To the right wing escape was impossible: they were shut up in Blenheim, and were forced to surrender—an army of 10,000 under Tallard. This crushing blow had important results. (1) It shattered the prestige of the French soldier, who had not experienced defeat during Louis XIV's long reign. (2) Marlborough's fame as a consummate commander was established; and he received a nation's tribute in the form of an estate and pension for him and his heirs. (3) Austria was saved; while in England the chances of a Stuart return became very remote.

Our efforts on sea also were successful. In 1702, Sir George Rooke

sailed into Vigo Bay, in the north of Spain, destroyed several vessels of war and sunk a Spanish treasure fleet. Shortly before the victory at Blenheim Rooke had taken the fortress of Gibraltar (August, 1704), which since then has remained in our hands, guarding the entrance to the Mediterranean. This capture was a preliminary step in the campaign in Spain to bring about the dethronement of Philip V, Louis XIV's grandson, whom the Spaniards themselves had accepted as King in preference to the Archduke Charles. The English general in Spain was Lord Peterborough. In 1705 the Allies entered Madrid and the Archduke was proclaimed King. This called forth a violent outburst of national resentment. In 1707 the Allies were decisively beaten at Almanza, and Philip was restored to his throne. This victory of the French was due in great part to the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II, and is important in that it secured Spain for the Bourbons.

Meanwhile Marlborough had been gaining remarkable successes in the Netherlands. At Ramillies, in May, 1706, he outgeneralled and routed the French, under Villeroi. It was similar strategy to that which had deluded Tallard at Blenheim. The victory did for Holland what Blenheim did for Austria; for the chief towns in the Spanish Netherlands fell to the Allies. Almost prostrate beneath such heavy blows, Louis treated for peace. He offered humiliating terms: he would abandon Spain and the Netherlands to the Archduke, provided Philip were recognised as king of the two Sicilies; the Dutch should hold the barrier fortresses; and he would withdraw his support from the Stuarts. Marlborough's influence secured the rejection of these terms, a rejection which cost England many millions.

However, the Duke's mighty strokes continued with unerring effect. In July, 1708, he and his allies defeated the French under Vendôme at Oudenarde. This was followed by the storming of Lille, which fell in December. Before the end of the year Stanhope had seized Minorca, a very valuable naval station. Louis once more sought peace. The Whigs, who the previous year had passed a resolution not to make peace while a Bourbon occupied the throne of Spain, would grant it only on condition that Louis would help them to drive his grandson from Spain. This was an utterly unreasonable demand; for the

national voice of Spain clamoured for Philip, and Louis, if he must fight, would rather fight the enemy than his own family.

Once more, therefore, France responded to his call and the demands of national pride, Villars, the French general, being sent to the frontiers with a valiant though ill-fed army. **Malplaquet, 1709.** At Malplaquet Marlborough was again victorious in what proved to be perhaps the bloodiest battle in the war. The losses of the Allies were appalling, and far exceeded those of the French. It was Marlborough's last of a long series of triumphs.

This victory served further to stiffen the Allies in their unbending attitude, and renewed overtures by the French were met by a haughty refusal. Two circumstances, however, rescued France from the humiliation which threatened her. (1) **Brihuega, 1710.**

In Spain the Allies received a severe shock, Stanhope being forced to surrender to Vendôme at Brihuega in December, 1710. (2) In England, the same year, the Whigs and the war party fell from power, a fall accelerated by the demand of Marlborough after Malplaquet to be made Captain-General for life. The new Tory Ministry (1710-1714), under Harley and St. John made it their main object to bring about peace, which was concluded at Utrecht, 1713. Let us see what had happened in England while the clangour of war shook the battle-fields of Europe.

Anne's first Ministry, under Marlborough and Godolphin, was predominantly Tory. The Whigs, however, were in a majority in the Lords. Extreme Tories were still unreasonably hostile to the Nonconformists, and early subordinated the war to their religious prejudices. Thus an "Occa-

Play of Parties.

sional Conformity Bill" was passed through the Commons, but was rejected by the Whig House of Lords. The object of this Bill was to put an end to the practice by which Nonconformists, in order not to be debarred from holding office according to the provisions of the Test Act, occasionally attended the services of the Church of

Occasional Conformity Bill.

England, but generally attended their own places of worship. The passing of such a measure would have alienated from Marlborough the Whigs and Nonconformists, who were the strongest advocates of war. On the other hand, his refusal to pass it drove extreme Tories from the Government. In 1704 their places were taken by Robert Harley and St. John, moderate Tories, both of whom supported the war. In religion, however, they belonged to the High Church party, and were

opposed to occasional conformity. In 1704 they tried to pass the bill by "tacking" it to a money bill. In 1705 there was a general election, and the Whigs returned to power. Harley and St. John were now the only Tories left in the Ministry, for Marlborough and Godolphin had definitely joined hands with the Whigs. In 1707 this composite Ministry brought about the union of England and Scotland.

Since the accession of the Stuarts in 1603 the two crowns of England and Scotland had been worn by the same sovereigns. Yet Scotland, except in the time of Cromwell, had remained **England and Scotland.** independent in all the essentials of a separate national government. At the Restoration she accepted the nominee of England, a semblance of national subjection which could not but clash with Scottish pride. Since then the friction had tended to increase, owing mainly to commercial and colonial development. Where the interests of the two kingdoms diverged it was obvious that Scotland, poor and weak, must be sacrificed to England, wealthy and strong.

There were some difficulties in the way of complete union. Firstly in religion. England was Episcopalian; Scotland, at the Restoration, finally became Presbyterian. The Scots did **Difficulties** not love Bishops. The acceptance by Scotland of **(i) Religious.** the Anglican form of worship, therefore, was as much beyond the range of possibility as the acceptance of Presbyterianism by England. Religious unity was, therefore, not to be looked for, though this would not impair political union.

The sharpest differences arose from commercial and colonial relations. The English Navigation Acts irritated Scotland as much as Holland or France. Scottish goods were treated as **(ii) Commercial.** foreign goods, and had no freer access than those of other countries to English markets. Scots were shut out from the colonies of England; and England would do what she could to hamper commercial and colonial enterprise on the part of the Scots. The failure of the Darien Scheme brought this home to the Scots, and inflamed the ill-feeling which already existed. The conviction was thus forced upon the Scots that they must choose between more complete union or more complete separation.

Matters came to a head when the question of the succession on Anne's death was raised. A patriotic party existed **Act of Security, 1703-1704.** in Scotland which advocated complete separation. In 1703, these ardent patriots passed through the Scot-

tish Parliament an Act of Security, by which the Scots would, on the death of Anne, choose their own ruler, who would not be the successor to the English throne except under certain stringent conditions. In 1704, when the strain of the Spanish Succession war was severe on England, Anne was persuaded by Godolphin to give her assent to this Act. England retaliated by imposing additional commercial restrictions on the Scots. She even prepared to place the northern borders in a state of defence as though war threatened. Fortunately more prudent measures prevailed on both sides.

In 1706 commissioners were appointed by the two countries to draw up a treaty of union, due largely to the efforts of a moderate party called the *Flying Squadron*, who were not above being bribed to pass the measure through the Scottish Parliament. In 1707 their proposals were framed into the Treaty of Union, which was submitted to the English and Scottish Parliaments. In England it was accepted without difficulty. In Scotland it met with fierce opposition from the nationalist party, who thought that England must remain predominant under any conditions, to the detriment of Scotland. However, it passed by a small majority, and received the royal assent.

The United Kingdom was to be called Great Britain, with one flag—the Union Jack—one Parliament, one crown and law of succession, and complete trading and colonial equality. Scotland was to send forty-five members to the House of Commons, and sixteen peers to the House of Lords elected by the Scottish nobility. She retained her own Presbyterian Church system, her own laws, her own institutions. There was an appeal from the Scottish law courts to the House of Lords. In spite of these generous terms, Scotland for many years could not reconcile herself to the Union. When the Jacobites attempted to overthrow the Hanoverians, they could always rely on the sympathy and even the active support of Scottish factions. Yet the Scots derived immense commercial and colonial advantages. They in their turn supplied a hardy and vigorous element to the one British nation and helped to build up the British Empire. Nothing better illustrates the gain of Scotland than when her prosperity during the eighteenth century is contrasted with the miserable lot of Ireland, where there existed a peace born only of despair.

To return to party politics. The next stage in the unprincipled game of party intrigue was the effort of Harley and St. John,

**The Act of
Union, 1707.**

**Terms of
Union.**

now at the head of the Tories and anxious to end the war, to undermine the influence of Marlborough. In this task Harley employed his cousin Mrs. Masham, a sweet even-tempered lady whom he introduced to Court. Anne found her new friend gentler and more attractive company than the autocratic Duchess of Marlborough, whom the Queen was already getting tired of. The first result of the party conflict was the resignation of Harley and St.

**The Whigs
in Power,
1708-1710.**

John in 1708, due mainly to their growing indifference to the war. Their places were taken by the Whigs Somers and Robert Walpole, the latter taking St. John's place as Secretary for War. Therefore, the Ministry of Marlborough and Godolphin, which was at first predominantly Tory, and then had become predominantly Whig, was now in 1708 purely Whig. It was a war Ministry. Oudenarde and Malplaquet were their triumphs. The rejection of Louis XIV's offer of peace in 1709 was due to them, for it was their party interest to prolong the war. In 1710 their power came to a somewhat dramatic end.

The reasons are not far to seek. (1) Though Harley and St. John had been driven from the Ministry in 1708, Mrs. Masham remained at Court, enjoying the complete confidence and affection of the Queen. She was the indispensable tool by whose means the fallen ministers persuaded

**Why the
Whigs fell,
1710.**

Anne that Marlborough was playing a sinister game of faction. (2) Again, the country was becoming aware that the real objects of the war had long since been attained, and that the Whigs were carrying it on, though enormously expensive and bloody, for party and personal advantage. (3) Then a false step by Marlborough aroused suspicion and even anxiety. After Malplaquet, in 1709, he asked the Queen to appoint him Captain-General for life, a position which would have enabled him to overawe opposition at home, and play the part of a second Oliver

**Marlborough's
Ambition.**

Cromwell. This the country was not prepared to tolerate, nor Parliament to grant. Anne refused; Marlborough lost his popularity, and his Government tottered on the edge of a precipice. (4) It was a religious blast which hurled it into the abyss.

Anne loved her Church. Her sympathies were with the High Churchmen, who classed Nonconformists as revolutionary and deadly enemies of the Anglican Church. She was displeased with the way in which the Whigs had refused to pass the "Occasional Conformity" bill. Mrs.

**Dr.
Sacheverell.**

Masham played upon her fears on behalf of Harley, and persuaded her that the Church was in danger from Nonconformists and Low Churchmen. A small matter brought things to a head. A certain parson by the name of Dr. Sacheverell delivered a few violent sermons against the Whigs and their sympathies with the Nonconformists, and advocated once more the principle of passive obedience. Very indiscreetly the Government impeached him in 1710. Found guilty, he was commanded not to preach for three years. Sacheverell thereupon found himself unexpectedly a popular martyr with results out of all proportion to the importance of the man or the magnitude of his penalty. The Duchess of Marlborough was removed. Godolphin followed, being supplanted by Harley and St. John. A general election in the autumn returned a Tory majority. The Whig Ministry had fallen. The dismissal of Marlborough from the command of the Army was inevitable, though it did not actually occur till the following year.

In 1710, therefore, a Tory Ministry took office. Harley, created Earl of Oxford in 1711, was the chief Minister. But St. John, created Viscount Bolingbroke, was the ablest man in the Government. Like the Whig Ministry of 1708–1710–1714. 1710, it was of one mind on the main questions at issue. This was an important step in establishing the principle of Cabinet government.

The principal object of the new Government was cessation of hostilities, and negotiations were immediately set on foot to that end. The path to peace was made easier by the elevation, in 1711, of the Archduke Charles to the Imperial throne, for the war was virtually carried on in his behalf. Now, if he succeeded to Spain and its dominions his might would be a greater peril to the Balance of Power than that of the Bourbons. The continuance of the war involved a heavy drain in men and money. Our allies were untrustworthy. The honesty of our own generals was not above reproach. In 1711, Marlborough was charged with corruption and peculation, and dismissed from all his offices. With unpardonable lack of patriotism and most atrocious greed, he had used his position to enrich himself to the extent of half a million. He had to leave the country in disgrace. Walpole was thrown into the Tower on a similar charge. The same year the High Tories secured the passing of their long-wished-for Bill against Occasional Conformity, for

The Tory Ministry, 1710–1714.

Its Objects—
(i) **Peace.**

(ii) **Fall of Marlborough.**

the Whig House of Lords at last gave their consent. As regards peace they were still obdurate. To destroy their majority Bolingbroke boldly brought into play the Sovereign's prerogative by creating twelve new peers. Negotiations were carried on with France at a headlong pace. In June, 1712, Britain and France agreed to a suspension of arms, Britain thus deserting Austria. At Utrecht in 1713 the treaty was signed between France, Spain, Holland and Britain. Austria could not carry on the war alone, and came to terms at the treaty of Rastadt in 1714.

(iii) Occa-
sional Con-
formity Act,
1711.

The chief provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht were as follows: Philip V was recognised as King of Spain and her colonies, though he and his descendants were excluded from the throne of France. Austria received Sardinia, Milan and Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands, on condition that the "barrier fortresses" on the frontiers of France were garrisoned by the Dutch. Holland, too, received some commercial advantages. As regard Britain's gains: the Protestant succession of the Hanoverians was acknowledged. From France she received Newfoundland, Acadia or Nova Scotia, and the Hudson's Bay Territory; from Spain Gibraltar and Minorca, which were important naval stations in the Mediterranean; the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be dismantled by Louis in her favour; by a contract called the *Asiento* she received the exclusive right of supplying the Spanish-American colonies with negro slaves—a very lucrative monopoly. Spain also allowed Britain to send one ship annually to trade with Portobello in South America.

The Treaty
of Utrecht,
1713.

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

Britain could have obtained better terms probably at any moment after Marlborough's first victories. That she did not obtain them was due to the rash anxiety of the Tories to conclude peace at any price. Nevertheless, the treaty set a limit to the arrogance of France. Britain received far-reaching advantages in trade, colonial development and naval supremacy, and became the first maritime power in the world, a position which she has since maintained. The country nodded assent, and returned the Tories to power in 1714. The Treaty had its darker side. While the public proceedings were being carried on at Utrecht, secret negotiations were taking place between Britain and France, of which the other allies were ignorant. Austria was furiously indignant at these clandestine relations. Even more

Its Nature.

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dishonourable was the treatment meted out to the Catalans. Situated in the north of Spain, they had fought stubbornly for the Allies, yet the treaty abandoned them to their implacable masters at Madrid. The unrighteousness of the slave trade was not yet recognised.

For the moment the Tories were triumphant. However, Anne's health was declining, and the presumptive heir to the throne was

The Succession Question. George, Elector of Hanover, the son of Sophia. The Tories had a twofold objection to him. He was partial to the Whigs, and hostile to the Treaty of Utrecht. If he succeeded they could not hope to remain in office. The only alternative to George was James Edward, the Pretender, who was staunch enough in his Catholicism not to abjure his faith for a throne. Otherwise, probably, the Georges would not have left Hanover, and the Tories would have retained the reins of power.

Of the leaders of the Tories, Oxford and Bolingbroke, the latter was pre-eminent in ability, and an adept in the arts of intrigue. He was daring where Oxford was cautious to timidity ;

Bolingbroke and Oxford. eloquent where his rival was commonplace and unconvincing. Active and alert, Bolingbroke in 1714 won over the High Churchmen by passing a Schism Act which made it impossible for a Nonconformist to become a school-master. But he failed to rise above the plane of a mere party politician. His one great object now was to secure his party in power on the death of Anne. Oxford, the nominal head of the Tories, hesitated to take risks and give a bold lead, by openly declaring for the Stuarts, which alone could prevent the return of the Whigs. Jealousy and strained relations ensued. Bolingbroke had the ear of Anne through Mrs. Masham. In July, 1714, his persistent intrigues were crowned with success. Oxford was dismissed.

Meanwhile the Whigs were not idle. The country had learnt to love the Anglican Church, while Bolingbroke's Jacobite intrigues

Bolingbroke and the Whigs. threatened a return to Catholicism. The Whigs alone could prevent it. The quarrel between the Tory leaders strengthened their hands. The sudden death of Anne within a week of the dismissal of Oxford gave Bolingbroke too little time to complete his plans of forming a Jacobite ministry. The Whigs were ready with their course of action. Two of them, the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset, entered the Council chamber while the Cabinet was deliberating, and demanded to be consulted as Privy Councillors, for Cabinet government was not yet constitution-

ally established. The Duke of Shrewsbury, who was in the Whig plot though a member of the Tory Government, upheld their claim, they in their turn insisting that he should succeed Oxford as Lord

Treasurer. Anne supported them. Next day she died. Bolingbroke had been out-manœuvred. George,

Elector of Hanover, was proclaimed King, and the Tories had no alternative but to submit. "In six weeks more," said Bolingbroke, "we should have put things in such a position that there would have been nothing to fear."

CHIEF DATES.

Marlborough and Godolphin in power	1702-1710
War of Spanish Succession	1702-1713
Union of England and Scotland	1707
Dr. Sacheverell's Trial	1710
Harley and Bolingbroke in power	1710-1714
Treaty of Utrecht	1713

NOTES.

1. Whigs and Tories.

The Whigs supported civil and religious freedom. They favoured toleration towards Nonconformists, and the supremacy of Parliament. The Tories would inflict penal laws upon Nonconformists. Stout supporters of the Anglican Church and hereditary right to the Crown, they would have restored the Stuarts but for the Catholicism of the Pretender. They were strong upholders of government by the landed aristocracy.

1702-1705. The Ministry for the most part Tory under Marlborough and Godolphin. Rochester leaves the Ministry in 1703, and Nottingham in 1704, because (i) they are not active supporters of the war; (ii) they resent Marlborough's sympathy with the Nonconformists. Harley and St. John, moderate Tories, replace them.

1705-1708. Whigs in a majority in the new Parliament, elected 1705. The Earl of Sunderland, a Whig, joins the Ministry, and Marlborough is now at the head of a coalition of Whig and Tory. He, however, inclines more and more towards the Whigs—in a majority in both Houses—whereas Harley and St. John are gradually alienated. In 1708 these two were dismissed, and the Ministry becomes Whig.

1708-1710. Whigs alone in the Ministry.

1710-1714. Tories in power under Bolingbroke (St. John) and Oxford (Harley).

2. War of Spanish Succession, 1702-1713.

(a) Causes.

(b) The War.

- 1702. Sir George Rooke's success in Vigo Bay.
- 1704. Donauwörth and Blenheim.
- 1704. Gibraltar taken by Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel.
- 1705. Earl of Peterborough takes Barcelona.
- 1706. Ramillies. Submission of all Brabant and most of the Spanish Netherlands.
- 1707. Almanza.
- 1708. Oudenarde.
- 1709. Malplaquet.
- 1710. Brihuega.
- 1713. Treaty of Utrecht. Note how the objects of Britain: (i) commercial and colonial; (ii) Protestant succession; (iii) separation of France and Spain, were attained.

3. Career of Marlborough.

Note the following steps:—

- (i) Fought against Monmouth at Sedgemoor, having previously served under the French General Turenne against the Dutch.
- (ii) His work in Ireland for William. Took Cork.
- (iii) 1692. Dismissed by William for intriguing with James. Restored to favour 1694.
- (iv) His brilliant military career in the Spanish Succession War.
- (v) Causes of his downfall.
- (vi) Restored to command by George I (d. 1722).

4. Godolphin. Died 1712.

"Of extraordinary skill and resource in finance, to have been able to raise the vast sums necessary for Marlborough's wars without disturbing public credit."

Charles II had found him a useful servant, and used to say that he was never in the way and never out of it. He was also at the Treasury under James II, and corresponded with James even when in William III's service, yet he was free from corruption.

- (a) Under William III. Was one of the chief advisers of the Crown (1690–1696).
- (b) Under Anne. Closely associated with Marlborough, and with him at the head of affairs during the years 1702–1710. Therefore jointly responsible for the Act of Union, 1707.
- (c) The Sacheverell affair led immediately to his dismissal by the Queen. For other causes, see text.
- 5. Bolingbroke (Henry St. John). With him associate Harley (Oxford).
- (a) Supporter of Marlborough, 1704–1708, as War Secretary. Leaves the Ministry on account of (i) Marlborough going over to the Whigs; (ii) opposed to Nonconformist sympathies of Marlborough.
- (b) In power, 1710–1714. At the head of a Tory Ministry. N.B. (i) Treaty of Utrecht; (ii) creation of peers to defeat the Whigs in the House of Lords; (iii) importance of the Ministry in development of Party Government; (iv) Succession question.
- (c) His fall, 1714. Goes to France on the accession of George I.
- (d) A Jacobite in "The '15."
- (e) Organises opposition to Walpole in 1726.

HOUSE OF HANOVER.

James I, 1603-1625.

Elizabeth, m. Frederick V,

Elector Palatine.

Sophia, m. Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover
(descended from Henry II of England).

George Louis, Elector 1698.

George I, 1714-1727.

Sophia Charlotte, m. Frederick I of Prussia.

George II, 1727-1760.

Sophia Dorothea, m. Frederick William I of Prussia.

Frederick II, the Great.

Frederick, Prince of Wales,
d. 1751.

Anne, m. William IV, Prince of Orange.

William V.

William, Duke of
Cumberland.

Augusta.

George III, 1760-1820.

William I, King of the Netherlands (after 1815).

Caroline, m. George IV,
1820-1830.

Frederick,
Duke of
York, d. 1827.

William IV,
1830-1837.

Edward, Duke
of Kent.

Ernest, Duke
of Cumberland.

Augustus, Adolphus, Duke
of Cambridge, d. 1850.

Daughters.

Leopold, m. Charlotte.
of Saxe
Coburg.

Albert of Saxe Coburg, m. Victoria,
1837-1901

George V
of Hanover.

George, Duke
of Cambridge,
d. 1904.

Mary Adelaide, m.
Francis of Teck.

Frederick III m. Victoria,
d. 1901.

Edward VII, m. Alexandra
of Denmark.
1901-1910.

Alice, d. 1878,
m. Louis
of Hesse-
Darmstadt.

Alfred, Helena.
Duke of
Edinburgh.

Louise, m. Arthur,
John, D. of
of Argyll. Connaught. Albany. Henry of
Battenberg.

Beatrice,
m. Prince
of Spain.

William II,
German Emperor,
King of Prussia.

Victoria Eugenia,
m. Alfonso XIII,
King of Spain.

Duke of Clarence,
d. 1892.

Louise, m.
Duke of Fife.

Victoria.

Maud. m. Charles of Denmark.

George V, m. Victoria Mary of Teck.
1910.

Edward, m. Albert,
b. 1894, b. 1895.
Prince of Wales.

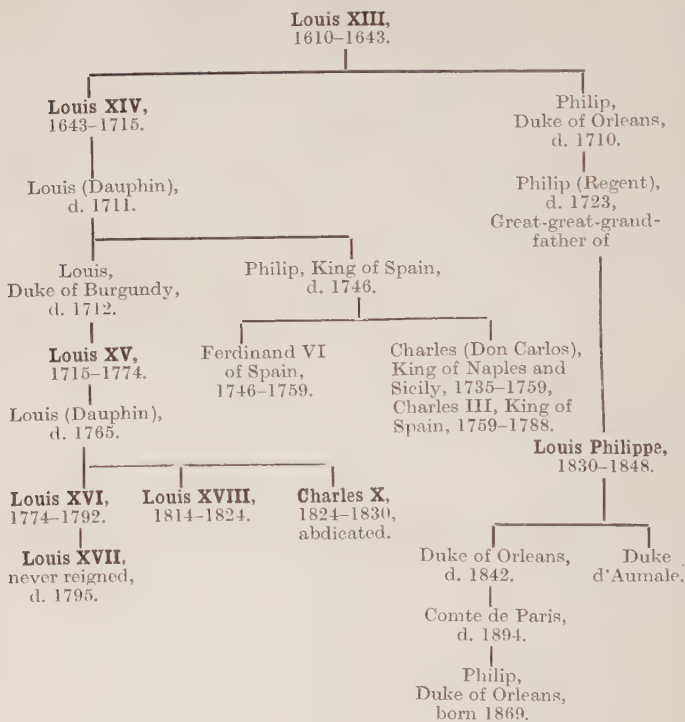
Victoria,
b. 1897.

Henry,
b. 1900.

George,
b. 1902.

John,
b. 1905.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE SINCE 1610.



George II (1727-1760)
 George III (1760-1820)
 George IV (1820-1830)
 William IV (1830-1837)
 Victoria I (1837-1901)
 Edward VII (1901-1910)
 George V (1910-19)

BOOK VII

THE HANOVERIANS. 1714-1910

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE I. 1714-1727.

Born 1660; married, 1682, Sophia of Brunswick.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS:—

France. Louis XIV (1643-1715).

Louis XV (1715-1774).

Spain. Philip V (1700-1746).

Prussia. Frederick William I (1713-1740).

Importance of the Hanoverian Succession—Party Government—The
 '15—Septennial Act—Stanhope—Foreign policy—Home policy—
 The Peerage Bill—Walpole—Carteret—The Opposition.

THE triumph of the Whigs, and the accession of George I, reaffirmed what the revolution of 1688 had established, viz., (1) the Protestant Succession, and (2) the supremacy of Parliament over the Crown. Therefore, it did not really matter that George's character was somewhat repulsive, his habits coarse, his manners sullen, and his intellect dull and heavy. That he did not know English, and made no efforts to learn it, had positive advantages, for it prevented him meddling in the country's affairs. In short, George was a puppet, placed on the throne as a figure-head. For half a century the Crown made no effort to recover its position; and Prime Ministers now became more important than Kings.

George owed his throne to the Whigs. Consequently, Whigs alone were placed in office. They had an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons, and the House of Lords was Whig. This supremacy they retained for nearly two generations, during which period they were the real Whigs.

rulers of the country, and dispensed patronage. Meanwhile, the Tories were enveloped in a mist of suspicion. Utterly discredited on account of their association with the Jacobites, they were distrusted by the country, and had no access to the King. The treason of their intrepid leader, Bolingbroke, in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, deepened this distrust.

The Whig leaders being in harmony with the King on the one hand and with the House of Commons on the other, Party Government, which had advanced fitfully in the two previous reigns, now became an established *custom*. According to this custom, the King was to choose as his Ministers the leaders of the Party with a majority in the House of Commons. These Ministers formed the Cabinet. Previously the King had had supreme influence in determining policy, although he discussed matters of state with his Ministers in Council. George I, through his ignorance of English, abstained from such Council meetings, and it became necessary for one of the Ministers to take his place. Hence arose the office of Prime Minister,

Party Government.

Rule of the Aristocracy. established not by law, but by *custom*. Moreover, as Ministers were chosen from the majority in the Commons, it followed that the House of Commons was supreme. However, during the eighteenth century, this implied nothing more than the rule of the landed aristocracy: for the people generally had no voice in choosing members of Parliament. Landowners alone had the right to vote for county members. And of the borough members, a large number were nominated by the great landowner in whose territory the borough happened to be; whereas in most other cases he had the determining influence. Thus it was that the House of Commons represented the aristocracy. However, these Whigs provided a series of excellent administrations under which the country made immense strides in commercial and colonial enterprise.

At the head of the new Whig ministry were Lord Townshend, Walpole, and Stanhope, the conqueror of Minorca. They clamoured for revenge on the Tories, who had concluded the Treaty of Utrecht, Oxford and Bolingbroke being impeached in 1715. Oxford was imprisoned, but subsequently acquitted of his impeachment. He could always wriggle himself out when danger threatened. Bolingbroke took refuge in France, and was attainted. There he became associated with the Jacobites, who were already planning to restore James Edward, the

The Fate of Bolingbroke.

Pretender. Prepared to devote his energies to the movement, his skill was little appreciated by the sluggish James, and he threw



up the cause in disgust. Nevertheless, his political career was thoroughly jeopardized.

The Jacobite plot then fell into incapable hands, and had little brain behind it. In 1715 the Earl of Derwentwater and Thomas

The '15. Forster proclaimed "King James" in the north of England; while the Earl of Mar, whose fickleness and want of resolution earned for him the nickname of "Bobbing John," raised the standard of rebellion in Scotland. In England the insurrection had little chance of success; for although there existed a lingering affection for the Stuarts, and there was little that was attractive in the Hanoverian who occupied the throne, still, the Pretender's Catholicism was fatal to his cause. It was otherwise in Scotland. There the Union was still the root of much bad feeling; and in the Highlands the affair became a rallying point for inflammable clan rivalries. The Campbells, under the headship of Argyle, were Whig, Hanoverian, and Presbyterian: consequently nearly all the other Highland clans were Tory, Jacobite and Catholic.

The English Jacobites, failing to rouse their countrymen in the north, marched to Kelso, where they were joined by a strong detachment sent by the Earl of Mar. Marching south, they reached Preston, where they were surrounded and compelled to surrender on November 13. On the same day the hostile forces of Argyle and Mar met at Sheriffmuir, near Stirling. The result of the battle was left in doubt, the right wing of each army destroying the enemy's left. In the following December James found his way to Scotland. But the ardour of his supporters was already dying; and assistance from France, which had been promised by Louis XIV, was not available, for that monarch was dead. Moreover, James's dilatory methods were not calculated to rekindle the fire of rebellion. The ill-planned insurrection had already collapsed when he and Mar left for France.

A number of executions necessarily followed. In the early stages of the rebellion a Riot Act was passed, empowering magistrates to disperse disorderly assemblies of more than twelve persons. Far more important, however, was the Septennial Act, also the outcome of the revolt. According to the Triennial Act a new Parliament was due in 1717. But the circumstances were critical, and in the agitated state of the country the Whigs were uncertain how the elections would go. They therefore passed the Septennial Act, which pro-

**Sheriffmuir,
Nov. 13.**

**The Sep-
tennial Act,
1716.**

longed the life of the existing Parliament to seven years. The Act is in force to this day. It had the immediate advantage of allowing the Hanoverian dynasty time to get firmly established. The system of septennial parliaments has other advantages: it guarantees better continuity in policy; it makes the House of Commons more independent of the electorate, an advantage which, on the other hand, is liable to abuse. Constitutionally, it established a precedent according to which Parliament can prolong its own existence, and marks an important step in the emancipation of the House of Commons from the Crown and the House of Lords.

In 1717 the Whigs quarrelled among themselves. The ostensible cause was Hanover, which now begins to play a fitful rôle in the internal politics of the country. Townshend disliked
The Whig Schism, 1717. embroiling Britain in Hanoverian questions; and when in 1716 George I and Stanhope crossed over to Hanover and laid the foundations of a Triple Alliance between Britain, France and Holland, Townshend denounced it. He and Walpole had already quarrelled with George. Early in 1717 they had both left the ministry, leaving Stanhope supreme. They found a convenient supporter in the Prince of Wales, who was on very bad terms with his royal father.

For the next few years, therefore, Townshend and Walpole were virtually in opposition, Stanhope being leader of the Whigs in power. He had displaced his rivals on a question of
Stanhope, 1717-1721. foreign policy. The circumstances were as follows.

On the death of Louis XIV in 1715, the throne of France passed to his great-grandson, Louis XV, a sickly child who was not expected to live. The heir-presumptive was Philip V of Spain, who, according to the Treaty of Utrecht, could not also inherit the French crown. The Regent of France was the Duke of Orleans, himself the heir-presumptive unless Philip repudiated his treaty obligations. It was, therefore, vital to the Duke's prospects to keep on friendly terms with Britain, as
His Foreign Policy. it was the interest of Britain to keep on friendly terms

with France, so as to uphold the Treaty of Utrecht and secure the Hanoverian succession. The outcome of this was an alliance between England and France in 1716, which remained
(i) Alliance with France, 1716. the salient feature of British foreign policy for more than twenty years. This alliance was the work of

Stanhope. Early in the following year Holland joined, thus forming a Triple Alliance. It was mainly the negotiations leading up to this Alliance that brought about the rupture among the Whigs, which culminated in the supremacy of Stanhope.

At the moment, then, it was Spain that imperilled the peace of Europe. Philip's Queen, Elizabeth Farnese, was ambitious; the capable Spanish Minister, Cardinal Alberoni, was equally so. He wished to win back for Spain her former lofty position among nations, to build up a powerful navy, and to deprive Austria of her Italian possessions. Throwing the Treaty of Utrecht to the winds, the Spaniards in 1717 suddenly swooped down upon Sardinia, which belonged to Austria, and captured it. Next year they conquered Sicily. Further, it was suspected that Alberoni was intriguing with Russia and Sweden to overthrow the Hanoverian dynasty. Nevertheless, on the part of England there existed no valid reason for breaking the peace with Spain when the British Admiral, Byng, coming upon the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro in Sicily, decided to attack it. In a few hours the Spanish fleet was no more—a rude shock to the naval hopes of Spain.

The possible revival of Spain made Austria somewhat tremulous. Finding her interests once more running parallel with those of Britain, she joined the Triple Alliance, which thus became the Quadruple Alliance. Nothing daunted, Alberoni pursued his aggressive schemes, to the displeasure of the other great Powers. In 1719 a small Jacobite force, with assistance from Spain, landed on the west coast of Scotland. It was not formidable, and was overwhelmed at Glenshiel. But it indicated the direction in which Alberoni had been working. Before the end of the year his intrigues had almost isolated Spain; and when it became abundantly clear that he was the real obstacle to peace, Stanhope's efforts resulted in his dismissal. In these proceedings the conduct of Stanhope had been not a little arbitrary; in consequence of which the relations between the sailors and merchants of Britain and Spain were embittered.

The Stanhope Whigs were equally active at home. Animated by a more tolerant attitude towards the Nonconformists, they repealed the Schism Act and the Occasional Conformity Act. The disabilities of the Catholics, however, remained; nor was Stanhope allowed to abolish such penal laws

(ii) **Cape Passaro, 1718.**

(iii) **The Quadruple Alliance, 1718.**

Stanhope's Home Policy:
(i) **Toleration.**

as the Test and Corporation Acts, which pressed heavily upon those who were not of the Anglican faith.

In 1719 a Peerage Bill was introduced. It provided that only six new peers were to be added to the existing number; and that new peerages should be created only when existing peerages became extinct,—a provision which would have confined the House of Lords virtually to the great Whig families and their descendants. Not only would it perpetuate the ascendancy of the Whigs, or of an oligarchy amongst them; it would also make the Lords still more a cramped body of hereditary legislators, independent of King and Commons, which only extreme measures could get rid of. Townshend and Walpole joined with the Tories in a furious attack upon the measure and brought about its rejection. Two years later Stanhope and his friends were hurled unceremoniously from power by a great financial disaster, leaving Walpole and his friends supreme. This disaster was the South Sea Bubble.

In the years immediately following the Treaty of Utrecht British trade expanded rapidly, and continued to flourish. People became richer, and were anxious to invest their wealth in undertakings likely to bring them good dividends. One of the soundest of these was the South Sea Company, founded by Harley in 1711, and enjoying the sole right of trading in the South Seas. The company then sought certain commercial privileges from the Government, in return for which they proposed to take over a large part of the National Debt. Their plan was this. Those who held Government Stock (i.e., shares in the National Debt) were to be allowed to exchange those stocks for shares in the Company. The inducement held out to the shareholders was that the Company would pay a larger dividend on each share than the Government had paid in interest on the Stock. The Government was won over by the fact that the Company was prepared to receive a lower rate of interest than the stock-holders. For the Company were now the creditors of the Government in lieu of those who had exchanged stocks for shares. A bill passed through Parliament sanctioning the scheme, not without fierce opposition, amongst others from Walpole. The scheme succeeded, and the shares went up from £100 to £1,000. Its success fostered speculation. People were deluded by tales about the fabulous wealth of Spanish America. New companies were started for the most absurd

objects. Of course they failed. People then lost faith in honest undertakings. The price of the South Sea shares fell rapidly. Those who had bought when the shares were high were ruined. There ensued unspeakable distress, and honest trade received a crushing blow.

The country was furiously indignant with the Ministers who had deluded them. An investigation was ordered which revealed dis-

Walpole's honesty and corruption amongst members of the Gov-
Supremacy, ernment, though some of them were honest enough.
1721-1742. Some had taken bribes to get through Parliament the Bill which sanctioned the scheme. Others were found to have speculated and made huge fortunes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Aislabie, was driven from the House for corruption. Another minister committed suicide. Stanhope, whose conduct was honourable, died from the shock early in 1721. Walpole, the ablest financier of his time, survived the catastrophe, and was summoned to power to restore the nation's credit. Blunt and jovial, Walpole was an unrivalled man of business, and had a good eye for men. His son once said of him, "It would have done you good to hear him laugh." "His father's wish had been to make him the first grazier in the country. He became its First Minister."

Walpole became Chief Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1721, a position of supremacy which he retained till 1742. Bri-

Walpole's Britain, on the threshold of recovery from the exhausting
Policy. wars, had just received an unexpected shock to her
(a) abroad. credit. Walpole saw that the nation, thus circumstanced, needed peace, which would stimulate enterprise, foster trade, and thus add to the prosperity and material wealth of the country; so that if war came, wealth, the sinews of war, would be forthcoming. Other countries fought, drained their resources and neglected their commerce: Walpole, meanwhile, with dogged tenacity, and in spite of frequent solicitations to enter on war, stood aloof, and attended to the expansion of British trade. It was with a glow of pride that he once told Queen Caroline, during the Polish Succession War (1733-1735), "Fifty thousand men have been killed in Europe this year, and not an Englishman."

The same desire for peace animated his policy at home. There were many discontented sections among the people: the Catholics
(b) At Home. were in utter despair; the Nonconformists were shackled by the Test and Corporation Acts; the Jaco-

bites had not abandoned hope for the return of the Stuarts; the Tories were uneasy; fervid devotion to the Hanoverians was not to be found. Popular agitation might, therefore, be dangerous, and Walpole would do nothing to excite it, or to rouse dormant factions. "Let sleeping dogs lie" was his favourite maxim. If his measures provoked violent opposition he withdrew them.

That he piloted the ship of state safely through so many shoals was due in large measure to his unrivalled skill as a leader of men,

His Methods. and in the arts of parliamentary management. His methods, however, were corrupt. Bribery, sometimes

sinecure Government posts, sometimes hard cash, was his stock-in-trade, which he employed with a gross indifference to lofty ideals and a cynical estimate of men. Corrupt methods had been gaining ground since the time of Charles II. Walpole did not attempt to remove them. But corruption became far worse a generation later. He scoffed at the flowery professions of purity among his enemies, and once referred to them in the contemptuous terms, "All these men have their price." And time showed that he was in the right. He made bribery a recognised instrument of government, instead of attempting to do away with it. In this course he made unscrupulous use of the ladies of the Court. That such practices should alienate the more high-minded Whigs was natural, but for many years his position remained unassailable. In his treatment of colleagues he was ruthless. Pre-eminent amongst them in capacity and Court favour, he would brook no rival.

One important constitutional feature must further be noticed: he was our first Prime Minister, in reality if not in name. We have

Walpole and the position of Prime Minister. seen that George I, unlike William III and Anne, made no attempt to form a mixed Ministry. Moreover, his inability to speak English made it necessary for one of the Ministers to preside over their deliberations, and so direct the policy of the Party. Walpole's superior ability and imperious will eminently fitted him for such a position, and he did not fail to seize his advantage. Ministers who rebelled against his authority were driven from office, though it had always been assumed that one Minister was as independent as another. Thus, as we shall see, in 1724 Carteret was dismissed from his position as Secretary of State, because he disagreed with Walpole in foreign policy. Some time later Townshend, with whom Walpole had been in close alliance for a long period, left the Ministry because, as Wal-

pole said, "As long as the firm was Townshend and Walpole, the utmost harmony prevailed: but when the firm became Walpole and Townshend, everything went wrong." In other words, he would not submit to Walpole as Prime Minister, but claimed equal authority with him in the ministry. Indeed, Walpole himself did not assume the title, for the Opposition raged with great fury at the thought of it. Even in 1761 the term "Prime Minister" was odious, though it was then recognised as an essential part of the constitution.

A refreshing calm followed the South Sea catastrophe. Walpole and his associates, during the remainder of George I's reign, introducing no new legislation. At home, however, **Jacobite Conspiracy, 1723.** there was a slight ruffle when Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, tried to work up a Jacobite revolt. The Bishop was banished for his rashness, the chief result of which was a further penalty upon Catholic recusants.

The most accomplished of Walpole's colleagues was Carteret, a strong, ambitious statesman, whose knowledge of foreign languages gave him a close acquaintance with the politics of Europe. He was arrogant enough to suppose that all Government business, except that of foreign affairs, was fit only for inferior minds. Nevertheless, his views on the foreign policy of Britain clashed with those of Townshend and Walpole, over whom he failed to assert supremacy. Therefore, he was transferred to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, in 1724. George I upheld Walpole, in spite of the harmony which had prevailed between Carteret and the King. During his administration there (1724-1730) the most

In Ireland, 1724-1730. noteworthy incident was the disfranchisement of the Catholics in 1727, so that the country came to be governed entirely by the Protestants, and in their interests, although they formed but a fraction of the population. An incident which had previously created a stir was the grant by Walpole, in 1722, to a man named Wood of a patent for coining copper money, called in derision Wood's half-pence. The object was to improve the coinage of Ireland. There ensued a violent agitation. Dean Swift, a virile writer who, not having received the Church preferment he had hoped for from the Whigs, had joined the Tories, made such a fierce attack upon the patent in the Drapier's Letters that Carteret, to allay the excitement that had been roused, advised its withdrawal. The complaint of the Irish was not that the coinage was renewed, but

that the Irish had not been consulted. For in 1719 a statute had been passed by the British Parliament depriving Ireland of any semblance of right to make her own laws, and vesting that right in the Parliament at Westminster. When the patent was withdrawn and the Catholics disfranchised, the Irish settled down into a state of dismal and melancholy despair.

We have seen that the transference of Carteret to Ireland was due to the disagreement between him and Walpole on questions of foreign policy. Walpole pursued the same course now as he did when a member of Stanhope's ministry. He had no desire to embroil the country in foreign complications. However, both Spain and Austria were dissatisfied with the Treaty of Utrecht, the former being sore at the cession of Gibraltar to Britain, and the latter displeased with the clauses relative to the "barrier fortresses." Spain and Austria, therefore, who had so recently been at war, began to realise that they stood to gain by upsetting the Treaty of Utrecht. Accordingly, they made an alliance, the Treaty of Vienna, in 1725. To defeat this coalition and preserve peace, Walpole, who distrusted Austria, drew nearer to France. It was this understanding with France that Carteret strove to prevent, with such unfortunate results for himself. Walpole saw, too, that Prussia, the rising State in North Germany, would prove a formidable ally against Austria. Therefore, in 1725, these three Powers formed the League of Hanover for the preservation of peace. There was some desultory fighting, which showed only too clearly that Britain ruled the waves. Soon peace was concluded at Seville in 1729, subsequently ratified at the Second Treaty of Vienna in 1731. It was a brilliant triumph for Walpole, who had an eye rather to the commercial advance of Britain than to the pursuance of wasteful wars abroad.

To this end, too, he made the first step in the direction of free trade. In 1721 he declared it to be for the public good that every facility should be given for the exportation of our own commodities as well as for the importation of material used in our manufactures. The same year he abolished the export duties on over a hundred articles of British manufacture, and the import duties on many articles used as raw materials. In 1730 the planters of Georgia and Carolina were allowed to export rice direct to European ports without calling in Britain as before, provided the exports were in British ships manned by British sailors. Similar

**Walpole
preserves
Peace
abroad.**

**Walpole and
Trade.**

facilities were given to West Indian traders. Hence colonial trade developed rapidly, and our fleet became stronger. It was he, too, who started the "bonded system," by which imports are placed in warehouses whence they cannot be removed until the duty is paid.

Walpole did not attain his ends without encountering resolute opposition from his enemies. Not only were the Tories against him, but also the ablest men on his own side, who resented his remorseless treatment of colleagues who, in fact, were too perverse

The Oppo-
sition.

to work with him or any one else. We have considered his treatment of Carteret, who left the Ministry in 1730. Inside Parliament the effective orator, though factious politician, Pulteney, till 1725 Walpole's colleague, joined the Opposition in 1728, because he did not receive the office to which he thought his talents entitled him. Outside Parliament the restless and versatile Bolingbroke, who had been allowed to return in 1723, endeavoured to rouse the country against Walpole's supremacy. For this purpose he started in 1726 the *Craftsman*, a newspaper whose avowed object was to discredit the Ministry. It was the first newspaper of the kind, just as, indeed, the opposition of Pulteney and Bolingbroke was the first regular Opposition to the party in power in the House of Commons.

The Opposition found a strong supporter in George, Prince of Wales, who had quarrelled with his father, and at whose residence

Walpole's opponents met. Pulteney and his friends therefore confidently expected that on the death of the old King and the accession of the Prince, they would displace Walpole. These sanguine expectations were not realised ; for the Prince's wife, Caroline of Anspach, was a shrewd, clever woman, and the Prince, when he became King, was sensible enough to follow her advice and retain his father's Minister. George I died in June, 1727. He had some capacity for business, and his intentions were good, while his government of Hanover, before he became King of Great Britain, had won general approval. His great merit, however, was that he reposed full trust in his Ministers, which made possible the final establishment of Party Government.

CHIEF DATES.

Jacobite Rebellion	.	.	.	.	.	.	1715
Septennial Act	.	.	.	.	.	.	1716
South Sea Bubble	.	.	.	.	.	.	1720
Walpole's Ministry begins	.	.	.	.	.	.	1721

NOTES.

1. Cabinet Government.

Its chief features are:—

- (1) Collective responsibility. Each Minister is responsible for his own office, and jointly responsible for the acts of the other members of the Cabinet.
- (2) The Cabinet is answerable to the majority in the House of Commons, and therefore to the majority of the electors.
- (3) It is selected from one party.
- (4) The Prime Minister is the keystone of the system.

Note the following steps:—

- (i) Bolingbroke formed a Ministry of Tories only (1712-1714).
- (ii) George I formed his Ministry of Whigs only (1714).
- (iii) Bolingbroke organizes an official Opposition with Pulteney and Carteret.
- (iv) William III had formed a mixed Ministry twice. Anne also in 1704-1708; and George II on the death of Walpole.

2. Stanhope.

- (a) Military. Served under William III at Namur. Afterwards served in Spain, and obtained command after the recall of Peterborough (1707). Conquered Minorca. Took Madrid, but was afterwards defeated at Brihuega, which put an end to his military career.

(b) Political, 1717-1721.

(i) Foreign Policy.

The central feature are his relations with the able Spanish minister, Alberoni.

1717. Formed the Triple Alliance, with France and Holland, against Spain. Cape Passaro, 1718.

1718. Quadruple Alliance, which included Austria.

1719. Alberoni dismissed, a striking tribute to Stanhope's foreign policy.

1721. George promised to restore Gibraltar to Spain. This he found an impossible task, owing to the temper of the British people. Note also the irritation caused to Spain by the contraband trade between Jamaica and the Spanish colonies.

(ii) Home Policy.

(a) Peerage Bill, 1719. N.B. attitude of Walpole.

(b) South Sea Bubble, 1720. For his relations with the Company he was attacked in the House of Lords. Died 1721.

3. Jacobite Rebellions.

A Jacobite restoration was part of the object of the wars of 1688-1697; and the Marlborough wars, 1702-1713.

(i) 1689. By "Bonnie Dundee" in Scotland. Killiecrankie.

(ii) 1689-1691. Tyrconnel's rising. Treaty of Limerick, 1691.

(iii) 1696. Fenwick's Plot.

(iv) 1714. Bolingbroke's attempt on death of Anne.

(v) 1715. "The Fifteen." Sheriffmuir.

- (vi) 1719. Alberoni's attempt. Glenshiel.
- (vii) 1721. Bishop Atterbury's. Note its connection with the South Sea Bubble.

Note particularly the circumstances which led to each revolt, and the results.

4. Walpole.

A. Under George I, 1721.

He had previously supported Marlborough in his wars. In 1712 he was put in the Tower on a charge of corruption, when Bolingbroke came into power.

On accession of George I Walpole became Paymaster of the Forces, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1715. On the schism in the Whig Party, 1717, Walpole resigned.

1717-1721. Stanhope's Ministry.

Walpole in opposition. In bringing about the rejection of the Peerage Bill, 1719, he made an indelible mark on the constitution.

South Sea Bubble brings Walpole to power.

B. His Ministry, 1721-1742.

(1) Policy.

- (a) To establish Hanoverian dynasty.
- (b) To foster British commercial development.
- (c) Therefore peace necessary.

(2) Methods.

- (a) To rule by the Party System. It was he who laid the foundations of our Cabinet Government. It is not true to say that he deliberately got rid of able men and surrounded himself with mediocrities. The Party System demanded that men like Carteret and Chesterfield should leave the Ministry unless the Cabinet endorsed their policy.
- (b) This government by "party attachments" necessitated a good deal of corruption, at the time a recognised means of holding followers together. Walpole used it, but he did not organise corruption.

To illustrate his policy, N.B. his conduct in the following :—

Wood's halfpence and the Drapier's Letters of Swift, "the greatest controversial genius of the age."

Annual Act of Indemnity.

1733. Excise Scheme.

1736. Porteous Riots.

(3) Trade. He was our first great commercial minister.

(4) Foreign Affairs. Alliance with France and distrust of Austria.

(i) Second Treaty of Vienna (1731) and recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction.

(ii) Third Treaty of Vienna (1738).

(iii) War of Jenkins's ear (1739-1748), which brought about his fall.

(5) Church. N.B.

(i) His attitude towards the Catholics after Atterbury's plot.

- (ii) Annual Act of Indemnity to please Nonconformists (1727).
 - (iii) Placing Whigs in high places in the Anglican Church.
5. Politics and Literature.
- (1) Occasion for it—
 - (i) Rise of the middle classes, who wished to know something about parliamentary proceedings, so as to influence the Government.
 - (ii) No newspapers in existence.
 - (iii) Statesmen wanted this means of influencing the country.
 - (2) Writers: Defoe, Addison, Swift.
 - (i) Swift's *Conduct of the Allies* supported Bolingbroke's Tory Ministry and declared for peace (1710-1714) against Marlborough. Therefore Peace of Utrecht, 1713.
 - (ii) Swift's *Drapier's Letters* attacked Walpole's patent to Wood for coining copper.
 - (iii) Defoe's *Legion Memorial*, a pamphlet which attacked the Tory House of Commons in 1701, which impeached the Junto.
 - (iv) Bolingbroke's *Craftsman* against Walpole, 1726.

B. Francis - 22/10/21

CHAPTER II

GEORGE II. 1727-1760

Born 1683; married, 1705, Caroline of Anspach.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

France. Louis XV (1715-1774).

Spain. Philip V (1700-1746).
Ferdinand VI (1746-1759).
Charles III (1759-1788).

Prussia. Frederick William I (1713-1740).
Frederick the Great (1740-1786).

Walpole's Government continued—Excise Bill—Fall of Walpole—War of Jenkins's Ear—The Methodist Revival in England and Wales—Carteret—War of Austrian Succession—The '45—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Broad Bottom Administration and Henry Pelham—Pitt and Fox—Pitt—Newcastle Ministry—Seven Years' War—In India, Clive—In America, Wolfe—In Europe—The year 1759.

GEORGE, as Prince of Wales, had been the rallying-point of the Opposition. It was therefore natural that, as King, he should desire Walpole's removal. His first impulse was to make the incompetent Sir Spencer Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons, his Prime Minister, with his favourite Carteret to look after foreign affairs. Fortunately, the wiser counsels of Queen Caroline prevailed. She was a woman of remarkable tact and ability, whose complete ascendancy over her husband enabled her to persuade him to retain his father's faithful servant. George was appeased when Walpole increased his income to £130,000 a year. The continuance of Walpole in power meant continuity of policy; for it was now the Prime Minister, not the sovereign, that guided the nation's policy. Hitherto the accession of a new sovereign was a great landmark. Henceforth, of greater consequence is the rise and fall of ministries.

Walpole had to face the resolute hostility of a heterogeneous

Opposition. (i) There were the discredited Tories, whose spokesman was Bolingbroke, now shorn of his Jacobitism. He laboured to re-constitute the Tory party on a basis of loyalty to the Hanoverians, and the freedom of the monarchy from the domination of Walpole and the Whigs. (ii) Another group was formed by the rising generation of Whigs, "the Boys," led by that eloquent genius, William Pitt. (iii) Lastly, he was opposed by fallen ministers. Carteret and Townshend left the Ministry in 1730. Hitherto Walpole's firm friend, Townshend resented his rival's arrogance, especially his unscrupulous use of the House of Lords to secure the rejection of bills with which he did not agree. He thereupon retired to the country and busied himself with agricultural pursuits. In 1733 Lord Chesterfield, by his conduct over the Excise Scheme, was driven from the Ministry. In fact, while Walpole's superior capacity drove these men into the other camp, he made no endeavour to attach to himself the men of ability in the younger generation, chief among whom were Pitt and Grenville.

True to his determination not to excite opposition, Walpole initiated a curious way of dealing with the Nonconformists. The Sacheverell riots being still vivid in his memory, he would not repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, which weighed heavily upon the dissenting section of the people, for this would alienate the Anglicans. On the other hand, he was very lax in the administration of these penal laws, and passed an annual Act of Indemnity to absolve those who had broken them, a compromise which remained in force for more than a century (1727-1828). This was quite characteristic of the political sagacity of Walpole.

Similarly his conduct over the Excise Scheme shows how resolutely he was determined to rule in the interests of peace.

At the same time it shows his clear insight into commerce and finance. The two chief sources of revenue then were customs and excise. The former was a tax levied at the ports on goods newly imported or about to be exported. Excise was collected at the warehouse before the goods were taken out for sale. In 1733 Walpole proposed, in regard to tobacco and wine, to substitute excise for customs. The measure was wise and statesmanlike: it would check smuggling—the malpractice of evading customs; our carrying

The Opposition.

Events at home under Walpole.

(i) Nonconformists, 1727.

(ii) Walpole's Excise Scheme, 1733.

trade would be stimulated in that goods might be imported for re-exportation without paying the duty, the country thereby becoming the world's market where all nations could buy and sell freely. Unhappily it raised a storm of indignation. The *Craftsman*, which denounced indiscriminately whatever Walpole said or did, attacked it without scruple. The excisemen whom the scheme would bring into existence would, by their votes, decide an election in Walpole's favour. It was represented as inconsistent with the Briton's sense of freedom that excise officers should call at any moment and inspect his goods. Britons would be as wretched slaves as Frenchmen, and "no slavery, no excise, no wooden shoes" became the popular cry.

Such were the arguments of the Opposition led by Bolingbroke and Pulteney. The heat of passion became dangerous, and Walpole thought it expedient to withdraw his measure, though not without expelling from office Lord Chesterfield, who had helped to inflame the mob. When his majority had been reduced to seventeen he said, "This dance will go no further.

**Success of
the Opposition.**

I will not be the Minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood." His first duty was to keep the dynasty safe. However, the Opposition had achieved substantial success, and the country endorsed their action by reducing the Government majority at the General Election of 1735.

Another affair which gave Walpole's enemies a handle against him were the Porteous Riots in 1736, which, in fact, had little real political significance. Two smugglers had been condemned to death in Edinburgh, one of whom helped the other to escape. This daring piece of chivalry commended itself to the mob, who showed their appreciation in disorderly demonstrations on the day of execution. Thereupon a certain Captain Porteous ordered the city police to fire upon the crowd, with fatal results. For this Porteous was condemned to die, but was reprieved by the English Government. The mob, furious at this act of mercy, broke into the prison and hanged Porteous on a dyer's pole. Walpole, with characteristic shrewdness, pursued the path of leniency; he deposed the Lord Provost and fined the city £2,000, which was to be paid to the widow of Porteous. He encountered bitter hostility in trying to pass it through Parliament. These incidents are the basis of *The Heart of Midlothian*, Sir Walter Scott's famous novel. Yet in spite of these attacks,

**(iii) The
Porteous
Riots, 1736.**

such was Walpole's dexterous handling of men that the Opposition made but very slow advance. Indeed Bolingbroke abandoned the task as hopeless, and had temporarily left the country in 1734.

In 1737 Queen Caroline died. It was the first effective blow to Walpole's power. About the same time the Opposition won the active support of a royal friend, Frederick, Prince of Wales, who was on bad terms with his father, just as George II himself had quarrelled with his father, George I. It was one of the singular peculiarities of the early Hanoverians that they had bitter differences with their heirs. Frederick was an utterly worthless fellow, vain and childish. Yet around him were now gathered the various groups which constituted the Opposition. Though a somewhat heterogeneous combination, the Opposition had sound elements of strength in the fervid oratory of Pitt, and the brilliant literary gifts of Bolingbroke, who, in his pamphlet "On the idea of a Patriot King," fanned Frederick's conceit and widened the breach between King George and his son. Walpole's power had been gradually undermined by his overbearing conduct towards his colleagues; the Excise Scheme and the Porteous Riots battered it severely; the death of the Queen removed a stalwart defender; the question of peace and war in 1739 finally overthrew it.

Setting his face with grim steadfastness against war, Walpole had achieved a veritable triumph by the conclusion of peace in 1729. From that time the political sky darkened. Previously, during the sickly minority of Louis XV, and the possibility of Philip of Spain ascending the throne of France, the Regent Orleans found it convenient to ally with Britain. Orleans died in 1723, while Louis continued to live. Louis and Philip of Spain being Bourbons had community of interests. Accordingly, in 1733, they came to a secret compact directed against (1) England, the commercial and colonial rival of both; (2) Austria, because Philip of Spain and his second wife Elizabeth Farnese wanted to establish their son, Don Carlos, as King of Naples, which the Treaty of Utrecht had assigned to Austria.

That very year war broke out. The alleged cause was the question of the succession to Poland, whose throne was elective. Austria supported one candidate, France and Spain the other. After two

**Walpole's
Power
shaken.**

**First Family
Compact,
1733.**

years' fighting peace was concluded, the outcome being that Don Carlos in 1735 received the kingdom of Naples. Walpole had refused to be entangled in the meshes, which his Sovereign would have preferred. He chose rather to husband Britain's resources whilst her rivals squandered gold and shed blood in profusion. For this he has been blamed, on the grounds that Spain was Britain's great rival. But it must be observed, too, that by breaking with Spain Britain would have sacrificed those commercial privileges in the Southern Seas which the Treaty of Utrecht granted her; also the Hanoverian succession would have been endangered.

Yet, in spite of Walpole's consistent efforts for peace, war became inevitable in 1739. Since the days of the sea-dogs, bitter and incessant rivalry had governed the relations between the English and Spaniards in the new world. It was a commercial quarrel. To British merchants the restrictions imposed on trade by the Spanish Government were very irritating. The Treaty of Utrecht gave Britain the right of sending one ship annually to trade with the Spanish colonies (the *Asiento*). This privilege the English abused defiantly, smuggling goods in abundance and carrying on illicit trade with the Spanish colonists. These breaches of the agreement annoyed Spain and provoked reprisals. Contraband goods were seized; Spain even made bold to search British ships. British sailors treated the Spanish authorities with scant respect, and with the daring of Elizabethan seamen. Hence they could not with justice complain of harsh treatment by Spanish officials.

Matters came to a head when a certain Captain Jenkins, having returned from his journeys, complained to the Government that he had had one of his ears lopped off by the Spaniards, and appealed to them to vindicate the honour of the British flag. The temper of the British people was inflamed by tales of such outrages. "Our countrymen in chains and slaves to Spaniards," became at once a popular cry. Popular clamour became fierce, the country fearing that Spain would become as powerful as in Elizabeth's days. The Opposition took full advantage of it. Walpole, unable to stay the tempest, declared war. Everywhere there was mad delight. "They are ringing their bells now," said Walpole, "but soon they will be wringing their hands." Rather than resign, which he should have done, he

Polish Succession War, 1733-1735.

Why Walpole's Peace Policy failed, 1739.

War of Jenkins's Ear, 1739.

chose to conduct the war himself, a cause in which he had no heart, and for which he had not organised his resources. Strong as a peace Minister, he was inexcusably weak when war came. In spite of this inefficiency, and lack of fighting spirit, an expedition sent out to the West Indies managed to capture Porto Bello, but an attack on Carthagea failed disastrously. Soon the country became weary of the war. The Opposition, however, did not fail to turn it to their advantage. Walpole did not resign, because he be-

Why Walpole did not resign.

lieved that on this occasion, as in previous difficulties, he could derive some advantage for his country. Secondly, George appealed to him, saying, "Will you desert me in my greatest difficulty?"

Thirdly, he distrusted the Opposition, who, as events proved, were incapable of government. Meanwhile, other foreign complications were demanding attention.

The Emperor Charles VI died in 1740. He left no male heir. But some years previously he had prevailed upon the Great

Powers to guarantee the succession of his daughter Maria Theresa, in what was called the "Pragmatic Sanction." No sooner was the Emperor dead than

Fall of Walpole, 1742.

the Powers formed a coalition to deprive Maria Theresa of her father's inheritance. Walpole had pledged England to support her. Now that the crisis had come he held aloof. Pulteney in the Commons and Carteret in the Lords made unceasing attacks on the Ministry for this weakness and breach of faith, though had he plunged the country into war it would have been said by the Opposition that it was in the interests of Hanover. George II, who would have preferred a more warlike policy, withdrew his support from Walpole. Moreover, it was suspected that, in his eagerness to keep peace, Walpole had neglected to prepare Britain for war. At the general election of 1741 he was in a minority. Early in the following year he was defeated in Parliament, and having resigned his offices, retired to the House of Lords as Earl of Orford. He died in 1745. He introduced no reforms. The

great blessing he conferred on Britain was twenty years of peace with its accompanying accumulation

of wealth from commercial pursuits, and security to the Hanoverian dynasty. By his defeat of the Peerage Bill in 1719 he had set a deep stamp on our constitution. He laid the foundations of government by the House of Commons so firmly that even George III failed to destroy it. The recognised methods of the time,

however, had evil consequences: corruption, evil practices and the greed for wealth chilled the nobler sentiments and ideals of the people. Yet it cannot truly be said of him that he organised corruption. He governed by Party with a view to the public good.

This detrimental effect on the nation's moral standard became abundantly evident in the Methodist movement. **Walpole and the State of the Church.** Walpole had deliberately set himself to diminish the influence of the High Church party because they were Tories tinged with Jacobitism. With this object in view he appointed to the highest and most lucrative positions in the Church Whig Low Churchmen who had little sympathy with the parish clergy, the great majority of whom were Tories. Moreover, since the Restoration the power of the clergy in their assembly, called Convocation, had ceased. Further, the Whigs forbade Convocation to meet at all after 1717, owing to the prevailing party hostility. These dissensions militated against the spiritual activity of the Church, but could not excuse the worldliness and indolence of the majority of the Anglican clergy. They had become mere political partisans, and, apathetic in religion, neglected their cures. Consequently the Church lost its ideals and its influence.

To reform this deplorable state of religious life, a small band of earnest Oxford men founded, about 1729, a society with the object of starting a religious revival. The chief members of the society were John Wesley, a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, Charles Wesley his brother, who became famous as the hymn-writer of the movement, and George Whitefield, whose impassioned eloquence as a preacher stirred his hearers from the torpor which numbed them. From the systematic regularity of their lives they were called "Methodists." In 1735 John Wesley went on a mission to Georgia. Returning to England in 1738, he removed the society to London in 1739. They then worked with greater zeal, gaining remarkable influence and winning thousands of followers by their holy lives. They roused violent opposition among lax and heedless clergymen, who scoffed at their enthusiasm. Forbidden to preach in the churches, they held open-air meetings. Still the movement was within the Church of England itself, and, at the time, Wesley and Whitefield had no intention of separating from it. However, they built chapels of their

own. Those who joined were organised into a powerful body by the extraordinary capacity of John Wesley. Lay preachers were appointed, whom the Bishops refused to consecrate. Wesley died in 1791 without having seceded from the Church of England. Four years later the Methodist preachers began to administer the sacraments themselves. This constituted them a separate Non-conformist denomination like the Independents, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians, which were the other great Nonconformist bodies in Britain at the time.

Simultaneously with this revival in England, Wales was awakening to a brighter morn. The evils of the Church in England were common to the Church in Wales in the eighteenth century; but they were aggravated by others which reduced religious worship to a mockery. For whereas the peasants were Welsh-speaking, the clergy were generally English, and the Hanoverians "thought it were better for Welshmen to lose their souls than to be taught in Welsh." The bishops enjoyed princely incomes; the poor parish clergy subsisted on sparse tithes which they collected in kind, and which scarcely enabled them to do justice by their flocks. While bishops endowed relatives with rich deaneries, the revenues of which were squandered in English centres of fashion, the despised Welsh clergyman mingled with his parishioners at the pothouse and the cock-fight. Services were irregular. Welsh sermons were scarce. In Wales, as in England, the revival resulted in the establishment of a new Methodist denomination, with this difference, that the Welsh Methodists were Calvinistic in doctrine (see chapter III).

Let us return to the position of affairs on the fall of Walpole in 1742. There were no sweeping ministerial changes. Lord Wilmington, the erstwhile Sir Spencer Compton, took Walpole's place as chief minister. He died next year, and Henry Pelham became Prime Minister in his stead on the recommendation of his friend Walpole (Earl of Orford), the orb of whose influence over George had not yet set. The most prominent figure in the new Administration, however, was Lord Carteret, that "rash and erratic genius," who revelled in foreign politics, could unravel its intricacies, and was in complete harmony with the Hanoverian sympathies of George, by whom he was loved the more in that he could speak German. But he was not a favourite with the nation. Haughty towards his colleagues, he treated popular

**The Church
in Wales.**

**Carteret,
1742-1744.**

opinion with unfeigned contempt. In spite of his accomplishments and brilliant abilities, he lacked the vigour and the capacity for detail which make for success.

The European difficulties connected with the Austrian Succession, which were the immediate cause of Walpole's fall, culminated in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748).

His Foreign Policy.

The Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor, to the bitter chagrin of Maria Theresa, whose husband, Francis of Lorraine, was thus passed over. More infamous than this was an attempt on the part of the Powers to seize Austrian territory, the chief aggressor being Frederick the Great, King of Prussia. Britain alone stood by the hapless Maria Theresa; and Carteret had no scruples about plunging into war in alliance with Austria against her foes, Prussia, France and Bavaria. At the same time he endeavoured to cement a peace between Prussia and Britain, as a counterpoise against the family alliance which existed

War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748.

between the Bourbon sovereigns of France and Spain. Accordingly, in 1742, by a brilliant stroke of diplomacy, he persuaded Maria Theresa to make peace with Frederick of Prussia by ceding to him his conquest, Silesia.

An active foreign policy was in complete harmony with the wishes of the King and his Hanoverian interests. Large subsidies were sent to Maria Theresa, and in 1743 a Hanoverian army took the field. This was reinforced by British troops, under the Earl of Stair. In his eagerness

Dettingen, 1743.

George II joined the army. Its main object was to cut off the French and Bavarians who were striking at Austria. Through a blunder of his own, King George was entrapped in a defile at Dettingen on the Main, between Aschaffenburg and Frankfort. However, his courage was equal to the occasion. Placing himself at the head of his troops, he fell on the French, forced his way through, and put the enemy to rout. It was the last battle in which a king of Great Britain was present in person. The consequences of the victory were far-reaching: firstly, it strengthened the Hanoverian dynasty; secondly, it tended to justify Carteret's policy; thirdly, and most important of all, France openly declared war against Britain. Hitherto, in this war, they had fought merely as allies of the chief combatants.

To be involved in these foreign complications was not the true

interest of Britain. Henry Pelham, who had become Prime Minister in 1743, was opposed to Carteret's ideas, and strove to discredit him. On his part, Carteret not only failed to restrain the aggressive attitude of Austria, but was prepared to assist Maria Theresa in the recovery of Silesia from Frederick. Therefore, the cry against Hanoverian interests was raised, not without effect; for the country disliked the haughty aloofness of Carteret, and suspected his close friendship with George II. Hence, in 1744, he was dismissed and raised to the peerage as Lord Granville. With his retirement, the control of foreign policy fell more into the hands of Parliament.

England and France now came to closer grips. The French under Marshal Saxe invaded the Austrian Netherlands, and besieged Tournay, which, in accordance with the terms of the Peace of Utrecht, was garrisoned by the Dutch. A strong British force under George's second son, the Duke of Cumberland, crossed over to assist the Dutch and Hanoverians, who were marching to relieve the besieged fortress. The rival armies met at Fontenoy in May, 1745. After a magnificent display of courage on both sides the French were left victors. Tournay fell into their hands, and several other fortresses suffered a similar fate. Further to harass Britain and compel her to recall her troops from abroad, France urged forward a Jacobite rebellion.

An expedition on behalf of the Pretender was planned in 1744 by the French Government. A fleet was fitted out at Dunkirk. Unhappily for the Stuarts a terrible storm arose and scattered it when on the point of sailing on its fateful mission. The French had no heart for a fresh enterprise, and abandoned the Stuarts to their own resources.

The Pretender, never very spirited, was now old and feeble. But his son, Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, was of a different mould, enthusiastic and daring. Suddenly, in July, 1745, without the knowledge of his friends in Britain, or the consent of his well wishers in France, he landed at Moidart, on the north-west coast of Scotland, without troops, with little money, seven followers, and no more munition than one small brig could convey. The large-hearted Highland chieftains came to persuade him to desist from such a foolhardy effort, but were prevailed upon to summon their clansmen to arms.

A slight initial success encouraged the misguided Highlanders,

who now cast prudence to the winds. Sir John Cope, Commander of the English forces in Scotland, was sent against them. Instead of striking at the insurgents, he turned aside and hurried to Inverness on the opposite coast. This was an inexcusable blunder; for it left the road to Edinburgh open, and brought to Charles Edward's side great accessions of strength from the Camerons, Macdonalds, and other Jacobite clans. Marching rapidly into the Lowlands, the rebels brushed aside some Edinburgh volunteers at Coltbridge, just outside that city, in what was called the "Canter of Colt Brigg," and the gates of the city were opened. Charles proclaimed his father king, and himself assumed royal state at Holyrood Palace. Meanwhile, General Cope, having sailed from Inverness, had landed at Dunbar, and was marching on Edinburgh. Charles boldly marched to meet him. Falling upon King George's troops at Preston Pans in the early September morning, the headlong fury of the Highlanders swept all before them. In a few minutes the battle was over, leaving Charles master of most of Scotland, while the incompetent General Cope was spurring his horse to tell the news in Berwick.

For some weeks he remained inactive, although Edinburgh Castle remained true to King George. But in desperate undertakings the bolder course is more likely to succeed. In accordance with this maxim Charles, in defiance of the wishes of his more discreet advisers, insisted on marching on London. Crossing the border at the head of about 6,000 followers early in November, he took Carlisle, evaded General Wade who was at Newcastle, outwitted the Duke of Cumberland who had brought his army from the Netherlands, and reached Derby. The road to London seemed clear. When the Londoners became aware of it they flew into a wild panic, and that day was for long afterwards known as "Black Friday." Though three armies were now closing around him, Charles Edward would have made a dash on the capital. George II actually anticipated it, and, having collected his valuables and placed them on a ship, was getting ready to cross over to the Continent.

Having succeeded thus far, why was the Pretender forced to retreat? (i) He had hoped to raise the Tory Churchmen of England, as well as the Catholics. To his bitter disappointment, only a handful of the Catholics of Lancashire joined him. (ii) All classes in England were already

**Battle of
Preston Pans.**

**The March
to Derby.**

**Why Charles
Edward
failed.**

reconciled to the Hanoverians, and averse to the restoration of the Stuarts. The fire of loyalty to that ill-fated dynasty was dead, extinguished by the wealth and prosperity Englishmen had acquired under the Georges. The cold reception chilled the enthusiasm of even the Highlanders, who, with the approach of winter, were eager to return to their homes. In addition to this, the military resources of England were under the full control of the Government, while the followers of Charles Edward were little better than an undisciplined rabble, although fiery zeal was not wanting. Further, France held aloof. Different conditions prevailed in Scotland. The passion for the old form of national independence was still alive ; a Stuart restoration might have restored it. The Highland clans were intensely Jacobite, whereas the Lowlanders had not yet reaped those commercial benefits from the Union which were already not far distant. Thus they were not so profoundly indifferent to dynastic claims as were the English, and they ran less risk. There was, however, one strong consideration which made the Lowlands pause before declaring for the Stuart. He was a Roman Catholic, and they were Presbyterians.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that Charles Edward received but an indifferent reception in Southern Scotland when, after once more eluding the English generals Cumberland and Wade,

he came amongst them again. But the Pretender was not easily disheartened. When, through the timidity of his own officers, he was compelled to turn his back on London, after reaching as far as Derby, all hope of ultimate success vanished irretrievably. Yet now, while one section of his army besieged Stirling, he made a furious onslaught on General Hawley and the English forces at Falkirk, and put them to rout.

This, his last gleam of success, could avail him nothing now. Cumberland was rapidly in pursuit with a well-trained army which

outnumbered the Pretender's. The two armies met at Culloden Moor, not far from Inverness. Steady, with fixed bayonets, Cumberland's soldiers withstood

the impetuous onset of the Scots, who, in their advance and retreat, were mown down by destructive volleys at close range. A bayonet charge did still further execution, and completed the ruin of the rebels. This was not sufficient. The grim vengeance of Cumberland on the poor misguided Highlanders was so brutal that his name was transmitted to posterity as "The Butcher."

**Battle of
Falkirk,
January, 1746.**

**Culloden
Moor, April,
1746.**

This barbarity served but to steel the Highland peasants against betraying their leader. Great rewards were offered—to no purpose. For five months Charles Edward sheltered beneath their warm-hearted devotion until, after many almost miraculous escapes, he found refuge in France. His subsequent history is very unattractive. He died in 1788, a soured inebriate. (For Welsh Jacobites see chapter III).

After the suppression of the revolt the Government took stringent measures to make similar risings impossible in the future. The clansmen were disarmed, and forbidden to wear their national dress. To shatter the influence of the chieftains over their clansmen, the hereditary jurisdiction of the former was done away with; many of them were sent into exile. Others emigrated, and gradually the old-world clan or tribal life of Scotland, with all its picturesqueness, disappeared, as it had disappeared from Wales a few centuries before. And just as the Welsh tribesman had found scope for his fiery energy on the battlefields of France, so the Highland regiments, which were soon to come into existence, became famous for their dash and valour. What previously had been a source of danger was turned into a valuable military asset. Moreover, a union which had been tolerated with ill grace became stronger, to the mutual advantage of both countries.

While these stirring events were afoot in England, the Austrian Succession war continued on the Continent. France, on account of the withdrawal of Cumberland to suppress the "Forty-five," found her path of conquest easier. The resistance of the Austrian Netherlands, which served as a buffer state between Holland and France, had been overcome, leaving Holland open to invasion. Britain found some compensation in the achievements of her sailors, and in the colonies. Plundering Spanish treasure-ships was part of the game of war. In America the British captured from the French Louisbourg, capital of Cape Breton Island, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. On the other hand, the French had found success in India, where they captured Madras. In 1748 the chief belligerents, France and Britain, agreed to a peace, in which Austria acquiesced with great reluctance. This was the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle or Aachen. France and England agreed to restore their respective

**Charles
Edward
escapes to
France.**

**Pacification
of Scotland.**

**Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapelle,
October, 1748.**

conquests during the war. Frederick of Prussia was allowed to keep Silesia, which he had conquered from Austria, a condition which embittered Austria against England. By a curious omission, nothing was said about the right of search, which had been mainly responsible for the outbreak of war between Britain and Spain in 1739, the War of Jenkins's Ear. The peace was but a truce, for Britain and France were already on the eve of a momentous struggle for mastery in America and India.

The resignation of Carteret in 1744 left Henry Pelham the chief man in the Cabinet. He was, therefore, at the head of the Government during the abortive Jacobite rising in 1745, and the circumstances leading up to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In his efforts to disarm opposition he was a disciple of Walpole, under whom he had served. Thus, on the retirement of Carteret he formed an administration which represented every section among the Whigs. Formed on such a

The "Broad Bottom Administration." broad basis, it was called the "Broad Bottom Administration," its chief characteristic being that no one was left to carry on a vigorous Opposition. Even Tories found a place in it, which shows that the

Cabinet, as we know it to-day, had not yet been firmly established as a principle of government. Pelham was anxious to give office to some of that brilliant group of young men, notably William Pitt and Henry Fox, whom Walpole had derisively called the "Boys." Pitt's shining eloquence and his probity, and Fox's excellent debating power, made the pair exceptionally formidable in Opposition. Accordingly, in 1746, Pelham proposed to introduce them into the Government. George II refused; whereupon Pelham resigned. No other Ministry could be formed, and George was forced to accept Pitt and Fox, he former as Paymaster of the Forces, the latter as Secretary for War.

During the next eight years, till his death in 1754, Pelham discreetly shunned measures which were likely to arouse passion. In this he resembled Walpole. But if Parliament on that account was deprived of any consuming interest, it nevertheless passed some useful measures. One of these was a sound financial measure of great public benefit. All the loans which the Government had contracted from time to time, sometimes at a very high rate of interest, were consolidated, and a uniform rate of three per cent. was paid thereon. They were called the Three per

cent. Consols. The change involved a considerable reduction in the interest payable on the National Debt, the fact that Government creditors were prepared to accept the lower rate of interest rather than be paid off showing how much the credit of the Government had improved.

Another useful measure was the reform of the Calendar, in 1752. The Calendar then in vogue was the one fixed by Julius Caesar, according to which a year contained 365 days, with an extra day every leap year. This was not a correct allowance, so that Pope Gregory XIII, in 1582, had issued a reformed calendar which had been generally accepted, but not in England. For this reason the English date was eleven days behind the right time as shown by the Gregorian Calendar. Therefore, it was now arranged that the eleven days between September 2 and September 14 should be omitted; and that the year should begin on January 1, and not on March 25, as before. Russia is the only country which still preserves the Old Style of reckoning. Another measure of reform was the Marriage Act. Its object was to prevent marriages being solemnised unless the banns had previously been published. Heavy penalties were imposed upon clergymen who did so. The Act did not extend to Scotland.

Henry Pelham died in 1754. "Now I shall have no more peace," said George II when he heard the news, a remark which sums up the worth of Henry Pelham. His great merit was his success in healing the schism between the various sections of the Whigs. In this he had shown considerable tact and wise judgment. On his death his elder brother, the Duke of Newcastle, became Prime Minister. Of dull understanding, incompetent and eccentric, he maintained himself in power solely by unblushing jobbery, at which he was a past master. But proficiency in this art was no substitute for good statesmanship, and very soon the Ministry showed signs of breaking up. His first act was a false move. In choosing a leader of the House of Commons he gave preference to a commonplace individual named Robinson, with such ominous results that Robinson immediately had to make way for Henry Fox, who thereupon became Secretary of State. Fox was a man of ability, vigorous in debate, but animated by no lofty principles. His elevation was not to the liking of William Pitt, who, finding it impossible to work

in harmony with the new Ministry, and being disliked by the King, went into active opposition.

William Pitt was not a member of any of the few great Whig families that monopolised power in England at the time. Therefore, he owed nothing to aristocratic birth. Yet he towered above all his contemporaries on account of his brilliant abilities, his convincing oratory, and his profound contempt for the political jobbery by which the Whig leaders bought votes. Having entered Parliament as a young man in 1735, he early commanded attention. Walpole had disdained to appreciate his merits. Pelham was compelled to admit him to a subordinate position in his Ministry, in spite of the King's displeasure, which was incurred, mainly, by Pitt's unsparing criticism of the tendency to frame Britain's foreign policy in the interests of Hanover. Thus, to George II's disgust, he had denounced Carteret's policy abroad, which involved the employment of Hanoverians in English pay. In such staunch defence of English interests he could not fail to win popularity, which was enhanced by his scrupulous political honesty. And there were not wanting signs that the nation was beginning to feel not only that the great aristocratic families were ruling the country in their own interests by buying up rotten boroughs, and securing majorities by jobs and pensions, but that even members of Parliament had little else in view but the selfish advancement of their own private interests, in complete disregard of the just claims of people in general.

Gross mismanagement characterised Newcastle's Ministry. With the withdrawal of Pitt it lost much of its popularity with the nation,

while bitter internal factions rent it. In 1756 Newcastle resigned, partly on account of the popular outcry raised by the failure of Byng to relieve Minorea.

The Duke of Devonshire took his place and gave office to Pitt. They failed to carry on the Government; for the patronage, that is, the power of buying up votes, was in the hands of Newcastle, and King George disliked Pitt. Under these circumstances Pitt and Newcastle struck an alliance by which they became joint rulers. The inefficient Newcastle brought with him to the new administration the royal favour; Pitt secured the confidence of the nation. Newcastle provided the majority in Parliament by shameless jobbery; Pitt supplied the brains and the patriotic fervour so sorely needed, for disasters were crowding in upon

**William Pitt
the Elder,
Earl of
Chatham.**

**The Pitt-
Newcastle
Coalition,
1757-1761.**

British arms in all parts of the globe. The Seven Years' War had already begun. The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry remained in power till the end of the reign, the inspiring guidance of Pitt turning a war which opened so unfavourably into one of the most glorious in British history.

The Seven Years' War was due partly to the dissatisfaction felt by Austria with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had given Silesia to Prussia. The conduct of Britain had convinced the Emperor that no active support could be expected from the island nation. Austria, therefore, turned to France and projected a coalition. To counteract this move, Prussia made with England an alliance which George II readily accepted, as it calmed his fears about Hanover. This alliance was the Convention of Westminster (January, 1756). The

The Seven Years' War, 1756-1763. counter-move of the enemies of Prussia was the first Treaty of Versailles, which ratified the coalition between Austria and France. But the most potent cause of Britain's interference was the clash of interests between her and France in commercial, colonial and naval enterprise. It was as yet uncertain whether Britain or France was to rule the waves—Holland had fallen behind in the race. In America the relations between the two nations were reaching a dangerous crisis. In India the rival East India Companies were waging a commercial war, although no one as yet divined that the conflict was to decide the fate of that vast empire. Such were the vital considerations which swayed Britain.

India is a vast extent of territory about half the size of Europe. In the seventeenth century it was ruled by the Moguls, a Mohammedan dynasty which, sweeping down upon India from beyond the Indus, had easily overcome the undisciplined hordes of native Hindoos. The seat of empire was Delhi, whence the great Mogul Emperor ruled his lands through Viceroy or Nawabs. From the beginning of the eighteenth century the Moguls had already ceased to exercise any effective sway over these Nawabs, who thus became in effect independent princes. Thus the Nawab of Bengal ruled over territory as large as France. Another such district was the Carnatic. In some parts the native Hindoos succeeded in throwing off the Mohammedan yoke and setting up independent states under their own *Rajas*. For between the Hindoos and the Mohammedans there raged a fierce religious enmity. The most warlike of the tribes were the Marathas, a

confederacy of robbers between the Deccan and the valley of the Ganges.

The British and French East India Companies had planted here and there a few trading stations with forts. Such were Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, which belonged to the British Company, and Pondicherri and Trichinopoli, which belonged to the French. Their objects were purely commercial: in political or military importance they were apparently insignificant. Certain it is that neither the French nor the British at first dreamed of the conquest of an empire. And yet in the first half of the eighteenth century there existed such confusion and so much internal strife that an astute mind must have perceived in it considerable scope for personal and national aggrandisement.

The first to put it to advantage was the Frenchman Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherri. Seeing that India was a land of bitterly-

Dupleix. opposed religions, numerous languages, different races and hostile rulers, he resolved to utilise these divisions to establish French dominion and drive out the British. His plan was to train the natives in European methods of warfare. These trained levies, or Sepoys, when officered by Europeans, would prove a formidable weapon in enforcing his will upon the undisciplined Hindoos. In the island of Mauritius, which belonged to France, Dupleix had an admirable base from which the French fleet could operate. But it was not Dupleix and the French that realised the dream of an Indian Empire.

Already before the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, Dupleix had begun to set his schemes in motion. He attacked Madras;

Dupleix captures Madras, 1746. the French Mauritius squadron came to assist; Madras fell in 1746. A large untrained force sent by the Nawab of the Carnatic to bring about its restoration

was easily defeated by Dupleix and his sepoy. It was afterwards given back to the British by the peace of 1748; but the reputation and prestige of Dupleix and the French had been materially advanced in the eyes of the natives. The fighting at Madras brought the British one advantage. It was there for the first time that Robert Clive, a junior clerk in the factory at Madras, became a soldier. As a volunteer there he showed himself fearless and daring.

The war in India continued, although hostilities were suspended in Europe. A dispute arose as to who should be Nawab of the Carnatic. The French supported the one claim-

Robert Clive.

ant; consequently, the British supported the other. To defeat the schemes of Dupleix, Clive advised an immediate attack upon Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and offered to lead it. There were only a few Englishmen at Madras, and these were for the most part civilians. The British, however, in face of the aggressiveness of the French, had adopted their scheme of training sepoys. With these natives and a handful of British volunteers Clive boldly marched on Arcot. It fell. He had no sooner taken possession than a hostile force came to dislodge him. With unconquer-

**Siege of
Arcot, 1751.**

able tenacity he held the place for several weeks. He even dared to sally forth against overwhelming numbers—not without conspicuous success. Not only was Dupleix utterly discomfited, but the prestige of British arms and valour was considerably increased. Dupleix retired. A successful attack was then made against Trichinopoli, as a result of which the whole of the Carnatic came under British influence and its Nawab the British nominee. In 1754 Dupleix was recalled. With him departed the enterprise and far-seeing statesmanship which might have made India a French empire. He had failed through want of support from the Government at home, and the loss of the command of the sea.

These events occurred before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756. The British East India Company was supreme at Arcot, and the French company supreme at Hyderabad, the other great city in southern India. Though as yet the British had made no aggressive movement towards military and political conquest, the European war was on the point of breaking out when an untoward event gave a new direction to the Company's activities, which profoundly affected the course of Indian history.

**British Rule
in India
begins.**

The British Governor of Fort William (Calcutta) had reason to suspect the designs of the French advisers of Suraj-ud-Daulah, Nawab of the rich province of Bengal. He, therefore, began to fortify his settlement, in spite of the Nawab's threats. The Nawab replied by an attack on Calcutta with such effect that many fled, while the rest, who remained to defend it, were captured. The little band, 145 in number, were cast into a small room, one little window being the only means of ventilation. There they had to pass an Indian summer's night. Only twenty-two ghastly figures came out of that death-trap alive next morning.

**The Black
Hole of
Calcutta,
1756.**

Clive resolved to avenge the horrible outrage without delay. He hurried from Madras with a force of from 3,000 to 4,000 Europeans and sepoys. Suraj-ud-Daulah came to meet him with a host ten times the number, at Plassey, on June 23, 1757. With the intrepidity that had characterised him from his youth, Clive attacked this formidable host and scattered it with ease. He was assisted by the perfidy of one of the Nawab's servants, Mir Jaffar. This oriental minister had intrigued with the British, and Clive was privy to it—a transaction which has left an unfortunate stain on his fame. Mir Jaffar received his reward. He was made Nawab. But the real rulers of Bengal were Clive and the British East India Company.

What Plassey did for the British in Bengal, Wandewash did for them in the Carnatic. French troops were now sent to the Carnatic to wrest it from British influence. They met with some success. However, in 1760, Colonel Eyre Coote, with a purely British force, fell upon the French at Wandewash, and routed them. The natives no longer believed the French to be better soldiers than the British. In the following year Pondicherri surrendered. With its fall French power in India came to an end. It had no hope of revival, for Britain was mistress of the ocean. Such were the foundations of our Indian Empire. The commander-in-chief of the East India Company's naval forces during these momentous years was Sir William James, a native of Pembrokeshire. Equally momentous events were engaging the attention of the Government in America; far more attention, in fact, than the affairs of India.

The position in America was this. The British colonies, thirteen in number, extended along the seaboard of North America from Newfoundland to the Spanish colony of Florida, on the Gulf of Mexico. The French held Canada, which then comprised the valley of the St. Lawrence and the district of the Great Lakes, and Louisiana, on the lower valley of the Mississippi. The French claimed the valley of the Ohio, the link between their northern and southern settlements. The British were resolved not to allow it. There was no definite boundary between the territories of the two peoples; but it was obvious that, if the French succeeded in holding the valley of the Ohio, the British could not extend beyond the Alleghany Mountains. Realising this, the French forbade any trading relations between the

**Battle of
Wandewash,
1760.**

**The British
and French
in America.**

British and the Indians of the interior, and projected a line of forts along the Ohio so as to drive the British to the sea. The chief of these was Fort Duquesne, near the source of that river. The ill-feeling between the rival colonists naturally became very acute. In

Fort Duquesne, 1754-1756. 1754 the Virginian colonists sent out an expedition, under the leadership of the afterwards famous George Washington, to take Fort Duquesne. The attempt failed miserably. In 1755 General Braddock, with a force of regulars, renewed the attempt. The French and Red Indians cut them to pieces; General Braddock was slain; only the courage of young Washington rescued the army from annihilation. Such was the position of affairs in America when Britain formally declared war—the Seven Years' War—in 1756.

So far, misfortune had dogged the efforts of Britain. In 1758, with the great Pitt at the helm, there came a welcome change.

Quebec. Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, who had just taken over the command, captured Cape Breton Island and with it Louisbourg, which guards the entrance to the St. Lawrence. After a two months' siege this success was followed by the re-capture of Fort Duquesne, which was re-christened Pittsburg. 1759, the year of wonderful triumphs in Europe and on sea, saw the conquest of Canada. With Louisbourg in our hands, Pitt ordered General Wolfe to seize Quebec, the capital of Canada. Thereupon Wolfe sailed up the St. Lawrence and halted nearly opposite the city. Situated on a lofty plateau, Quebec occupies a strong natural position. It was well fortified. For several miles along the shore, on the eastern side of the city, the French, under Montcalm, were strongly entrenched. Any attempt to invest it on that side was doomed to disaster. The prospect seemed even more gloomy on the west, where the steep overhanging cliffs of the Heights of Abraham cried defiance. Yet it was from this quarter that Wolfe planned his attack, an all but impossible feat. In the dead silence of a dark night, except for the sound of distant cannon which Wolfe kept firing to hide his intentions, the soldiers were rowed in small boats to the foot of the cliffs, which were scaled successfully. When day dawned the French,

The Heights of Abraham, Sept. 13, 1759. to their unutterable amazement, found the English drawn up in battle array on the plateau. Montcalm, his plans completely shattered, hurriedly summoned his troops to oppose them. The victory of the British was decisive, though the two gallant commanders were struck down, Wolfe in the

hour of victory, and Montcalm during the retreat. A few days later Quebec capitulated.

The French power in Canada was at an end, for the French squadrons had been swept off the seas and no help from France could be brought to the beleaguered colonists. Amherst took up the task bequeathed to him by the death of Wolfe. In 1759 he compelled his enemy to burn Ticonderoga. Next year Montreal capitulated. Canada was conquered.

Let us return to home affairs and the Seven Years' War in Europe. The war opened with a chapter of reverses. A French fleet sailed from Toulon and captured Minorca, which had remained in our hands since its conquest by Stanhope half a century before. Admiral Byng, son of the hero of Cape Passaro, refusing to risk a conflict with a fleet superior to his own, retired, leaving Minorca tamely in the hands of the French. He had been too cautious, and having been condemned by court-martial, was shot on his own flagship. "In England," remarked the great French writer, Voltaire, "they shoot one admiral to encourage the rest." The disaster roused such a tempest of anger that Newcastle was forced to resign in favour of Devonshire, with whom Pitt was associated. Not even Pitt could save Byng from his unhappy doom—such was the violent temper of the people. As we have seen, the coalition of Devonshire and Pitt was short-lived, and made way for the Newcastle-Pitt administration.

Meanwhile, England's ally on the Continent, Frederick of Prussia, was at bay. His enemies, France, Austria and Russia, were closing around him, and were held in check only by a series of rapid, vigorous strokes. The Duke of Cumberland went out to his assistance, was defeated by the French at Hastenbeck, and forced to surrender at Klosterseven. By the terms of the Convention of Klosterseven his army was disbanded, and the Hanoverians went into winter quarters, leaving Hanover in the hands of the French, whence they could swoop down upon Prussia. Frederick was saved from complete destruction only by his surprising energy and exceptional military skill. Striking hard, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the French at Rosbach in November, 1757; then turning on the Austrians he routed them at Leuthen, in December. Yet he could hardly have maintained his advantage had not Pitt sent him large supplies of gold.

It was in the midst of these British disasters that Pitt, with daring self-confidence, exclaimed, "I am sure that I can save this country, and I am sure that no one else can." As Secretary of State in the Devonshire administration, he had already reorganised and increased the militia; he also turned to useful account the fierce energy and restless spirit of the Highlanders by raising from among them two Highland regiments. He was thus enabled to send much needed reinforcements to the scenes of war; and it became unnecessary to hire Hanoverians. This apparently cold indifference to Hanoverian interests inflamed the old King's hatred of Pitt, who was summarily dismissed, April, 1757. Devonshire thereupon resigned and the Newcastle-Pitt administration came into power. Not the least of Pitt's services to his country was the fact that in joining hands with Newcastle, whose jobbery he so heartily despised, he strove to heal bitter internal factions which tended to paralyse an effective war policy.

In the conduct of the war Pitt knew his own mind. He inspired confidence. He selected his men with a deep and happy insight as to their fitness. It was he who chose Wolfe. His plans were comprehensive and aggressive. He realised the supreme importance of the fleet. He helped Frederick with men and money so that Prussia could hold her own against France and Austria. Our colonial empire was thus won on European battlefields. The Convention of Klosterseven having been repudiated, the Hanoverians were once more brought into the field the British and Hanoverian troops being placed under the command of Ferdinand of Brunswick, a very capable commander. Pitt's policy was to carry on a vigorous campaign against France on the Continent, while the British fleet swept the French squadrons off the sea and prevented any help reaching her distressed colonists in India and America. "America must be conquered in Germany," Pitt used to say. Pitt's inspiration brought immediate results. The year 1758 brought a succession of engagements, the result of which placed the French ports at the mercy of the British fleet. 1759 was a year of brilliant successes. Ferdinand of Brunswick, by a glorious victory over the French at Minden, rescued Hanover. Havre, at the mouth of the Seine, was bombarded, while off Belleisle, in Quiberon Bay, in Brittany, Admiral Hawke, in a November storm, annihilated the French fleet. A month earlier, in

**Pitt's Con-
duct of the
War.**

**The Year
1759.**

**Quiberon
Bay.**

September, Admiral Boscawen shattered the French Toulon fleet off Lagos, near Gibraltar. Lastly, as we have seen, French power in Canada received its death-blow on the Heights of Abraham. Such were the triumphs of this memorable year.

Though the genius of Pitt had rendered them possible, his position was unstable. In October, 1760, George II died. His successor soon set himself to break up the Newcastle-Pitt ministry, and Pitt's power waned, but not before that great Minister had destroyed the French navy as a fighting force, leaving Britain free to build up what has proved to be the greatest of Empires. The Seven Years' War came to an end with the Peace of Paris in 1763, when it became clear how much Britain gained by the war.

CHIEF DATES.

Methodist Society founded		1730
Excise Scheme		1733
Death of Queen Caroline		1737
Fall of Walpole		1742
Dettingen		1743
Fontenoy and Jacobite Rebellion		1745
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle		1748
Plassey		1757
Quebec and Quiberon Bay		1759

NOTES.

1. Walpole's Ministry. See ante.

2. Carteret, 1721-1744.

A. Under Walpole.

1721. Secretary of State.

1724. Transferred to Ireland. Wood's halfpence affair.

1730. Leaves the ministry. Why?

B. 1742-1744. Ministries of Wilmington and Henry Pelham.

Foreign Policy. He advocated war with France, in order (i) to advance our colonial and commercial supremacy; (ii) to secure the Protestant succession, for France supported the Stuarts; (iii) to secure Hanover against the aggressions of Prussia, by an alliance with Austria, Prussia's enemy.

1743. Dettingen

Causes of his fall (1744):—

- (i) Employment of Hanoverian troops resented in Britain. The cry of "Hanoverian interests" was raised against him.
- (ii) Too independent of his colleagues. He despised popularity, and was not trusted.
- (iii) His opposition to France encouraged that country to help the Stuarts.

He was driven out by the parliamentary influence of the Pelhams.

2. Henry Pelham: 1743-1754. Broad Bottom Administration.

(a) Foreign: War of Austrian Succession.

1745. Fontenoy.

1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which brought the war to a close.

At the end of the war the alliance between England and Austria begins to give way to an Anglo-Prussian alliance, consummated by Pitt in the Seven Years' War.

(b) Jacobites. Rebellion of 1745. Note, however, its connection with the above. The Rebellion led to the "Pacification of the Highlands."

(c) Home. He was a disciple of Walpole in his anxiety for peace. Hence the name of his administration, which left no strong statesman in Opposition.

(i) Consols.

(ii) Reform of the Calendar, 1752.

(iii) Marriage Act, 1753.

On Pelham's death in 1754 his brother, the Duke of Newcastle became Prime Minister.

3. The Newcastle Ministry. 1754-1756.

Note the attitude towards it of William Pitt (the elder) and Henry Fox, and the circumstances, especially the loss of Minorca, which brought about its fall.

4. Pitt-Newcastle Ministry. 1757-1762.

(a) The Seven Years' War. 1756-1763.

(i) Causes: The clash of interests between Britain and France in commercial, colonial and naval affairs.

(ii) The war in India. Dupleix and Clive.

1751. Siege of Arcot.

1753. Black Hole of Calcutta.

1757. Plassey.

1760. Wandewash.

Beginning of British rule in India.

(iii) The war in America. Wolfe.

1754-1756. Fort Duquesne.

1758-1760. Conquest of Canada.

1759. Heights of Abraham. Quebec.

(iv) The War in Europe.

1756. Loss of Minorca.

1757. Rosbach.

1759. Quiberon Bay. Note the triumphs of this year.

1763. Peace of Paris. q.v.

5. William Pitt (the elder Pitt, first Earl of Chatham), "The Great Commoner."

(a) In Opposition to Walpole.

Entered the Commons in 1735. He was the leader of the "Boys," one of the groups which constituted the Opposition to Walpole, who soon learnt to dread his declamations.

(b) Under Pelham.

1746. Paymaster of the Forces. He showed an honest aversion

to the corrupt methods then in vogue, and gave practical proof of it, refusing irregular gains while in office.

(c) The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry.

He was the soul of British arms during the Seven Years' War. Sagacity in choice of commanders.

(d) Later career.

1765. Resisted the Stamp Act.

1766. Prime Minister as Earl of Chatham.

1768. Resigned.

6. Chesterfield.

A great statesman, accomplished courtier and man of letters. 1733. Driven from his office of Lord Steward by Walpole, on account of his opposition to the Excise Bill.

1743. (Pelham's Ministry) became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. His pacific policy there brought peace, and prevented rebellion during the Jacobite rising in 1745.

1752. He passed the Bill for reform of the calendar.

7. Henry Fox.

Chief steps in his career :—

1746. War Secretary in Pelham's Ministry.

1755. Secretary of State in Newcastle's Ministry.

1757. Paymaster of the Forces in the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry.

1762. Became leader of the House of Commons in Bute's Ministry.

1763. Created Lord Holland.

8. The Wars of the Reign.

(a) War with Spain. Jenkins's ear. 1739-1748.

Causes :—

(i) Rivalry between English and Spanish traders.

(ii) Breach of the Asiento Treaty by British traders.

1739. Porto Bello seized by Admiral Vernon.

1740. Commodore Anson begins his plundering expedition. Nothing was heard of him for four years. His absence was explained when he brought home treasure worth £1,250,000, which he had captured from the Spaniards. Like Drake, he had sailed round the world, returning by the Cape of Good Hope. His return temporarily increased the waning popularity of Carteret's government.

1741. Reverse at Cartagena, a seaport of New Granada, in South America.

(b) War of Austrian Succession. 1741-1748.

Britain was drawn into it by (i) Carteret's exaggerated ideas on foreign affairs ; (ii) Holland and Hanoverian interests.

1743. Dettingen.

1745. Fontenoy.

1748. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The Austrian alliance now gives way to an Anglo-Prussian alliance.

(c) Seven Years' War. See notes on Pitt-Newcastle Ministry.

P. Francis Ellis

CHAPTER III

THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN WALES

THE Welsh people took but little interest in the Revolution of 1688. The higher clergy were divided in their loyalty to William and Mary. Bishop Lloyd of Llandaff, who had been translated to Norwich in 1685, was deprived of his bishopric in 1691 for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns. Bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph, who had been chaplain to Charles II and had been committed to the Tower with Archbishop Saneroff in 1688, concurred in the Revolution and became Lord Almoner to William III. He was subsequently made Bishop of Worcester (1699), justifying his preferments by writing several tracts against Popery. The lower clergy were in a morbid state of lethargy, from which some profound upheaval alone could rouse them. The Nonconformist bodies in South Wales rejoiced in the dethronement of James II, in that it was accompanied by a cessation in the persecution to which they had been subjected for nearly thirty years. Welsh manufacturers who were prospering in the Welsh cloth trade readily acquiesced. Few of the Welsh squires were incautious enough to risk property and life for a lost cause, though the Pretender found some of his ablest supporters in Wales.

On his escape to France after the landing of William of Orange, James II was accompanied by the Marquis of Powis, chief of the Herberts of Montgomery. The Marquis's son-in-law, the Earl of Nithsdale, was condemned for complicity in the rebellion of 1715, though he succeeded in making his escape through the artful device of his wife, Lady Winifred Herbert. The Pretender, in fact, had many sympathisers in Wales. To uphold his right to the throne a Jacobite society or "cycle" was founded at Wrexham in 1723. Prince Charles would have found considerable support among the squires of North

**Wales
and the
Revolution of
1688.**

**The Welsh
Jacobites.**

Wales had he marched thither from Derby, in 1745, instead of retreating on Scotland. In that abortive rising perhaps the most dangerous Jacobite south of the Tweed was Sir Watcyn Williams Wynn of Wynnstay. An influential Welsh landlord, he was a member of the cycle, was active in Parliament on behalf of the Stuarts, and kept Prince Charles informed of the state of feeling in London. On this account he was regarded with suspicion by the Government for some years. David Morgan, of the distinguished family of Tredegar, was one of the chief movers in the same rebellion. Having joined Prince Charles at Preston, he marched with him to Derby, and strongly advised an advance on London. He held a leading position in the army, being known as the Pretender's counsellor. He was subsequently arrested in Staffordshire and executed in 1746.

**David
Morgan.**

During the century Welshmen distinguished themselves in all departments of state—legal, naval, military and political. But the most significant event in the history of Wales was the religious upheaval which characterised the first half of the century. Religious in its origin, it was epoch-making in its influence on the peasant life of Wales. Its results were felt not only in religion and morals, but in education, in literature, and ultimately in politics.

**Religious
Revival.**

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the condition of the Church in Wales was more deplorable than it had been even in the seventeenth century. The parish clergy were poorly educated; they had several parishes under their charge, while their stipends were shamefully meagre. They were satisfied with a very perfunctory discharge of their spiritual functions. Services were held very irregularly; Holy Communion was indifferently celebrated; seldom was there any preaching. Many churches fell into ruins; others were demolished; some were rented to Nonconformists. This was due (1) to the shameless alienation of tithes, which left the parish clergy with a very inadequate livelihood, and separated by a wide gulf from the higher clergy, who lived in ease and affluence; (2) to the mischievous policy adopted by the Hanoverians towards Wales. It is also important to remember that the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century was not attended by a spiritual revival among the Welsh people, who, though the gentry and higher clergy

**Condition
of the
Church.**

became anglicised, remained intensely Welsh in sentiment and to a large extent Catholic in religious tendency.

Hanoverian policy in Wales was calculated not only to deepen this spiritual gloom but also to alienate the Welsh people from the Established Church. It may have been due to a conviction of the strength of Jacobite feeling in Wales, which had shown such unflinching loyalty to the Stuarts; or to a deliberate purpose on the part of the Crown ministers to strangle the Welsh language and stifle Welsh national feeling; or to gross ignorance of the peculiar needs and circumstances of Wales. Whatever the cause, the settled policy of the Hanoverians was to appoint Englishmen to the Welsh sees, although during the Stuart period—perhaps on account of it—Welshmen had been appointed in large numbers. From Charles II to the Revolution all the bishops of Llandaff were Welsh. Rural Wales was entirely Welsh-speaking, yet no attempt was made by the ecclesiastical advisers of the Georges to secure a sympathetic, well-educated parish clergy who could perform their spiritual duties in the language of the people. All the higher preferments were political appointments conferred upon Englishmen, who enjoyed them until more lucrative positions fell to them elsewhere. None of the Welsh bishops throughout the eighteenth century and the greater part of the nineteenth could carry on a religious service effectively in the Welsh language.

Other abuses resulted from the political character of the appointments to the Welsh sees. One of these was absenteeism, which prevailed largely among the parish clergy, though most notoriously among the higher clergy. None of the bishops of Llandaff during the eighteenth century resided within the diocese. The grossest abuse, however, was that of pluralities, a system by which a clergyman held a number of livings or preferments, which carried with them fat incomes, but to which the duties assigned were either purely nominal or such as were performed by subordinates. These evils were considerably aggravated by the abuse of episcopal patronage; the alien bishops, instead of rewarding the most industrious clergy in the diocese with higher preferments, conferred them upon relatives who were strangers to the country, for the most part ignorant of the Welsh language, and so unable to minister to their flock. The Church was not only negligent of the spiritual welfare of the people,

but she also steadfastly suppressed any attempt at reform even from within her own fold. Griffith Jones, Daniel Rowland, and Howel Harris were passionately attached to the Establishment, yet they met with either freezing indifference or active opposition from the English clergy in Wales.

The Church, while thus reduced to spiritual impotence, did not relax her efforts to suppress Nonconformity. The squire on the bench was bitterly hostile to freedom of worship. **The Non-conformists, 1689-1735.** Not seldom were there false imprisonments in spite of Indulgences. At Swansea there were "press-gangs" who sought out Nonconformists, and seized them forcibly for service abroad or in the navy. The storm and stress were especially severe in the reign of Queen Anne, whose death was a subject of thanksgiving among the Baptists. Nevertheless from 1700 to 1735 was a period of considerable activity. The Baptists, whose first Association, formed by John Miles during the Commonwealth, perished beneath the angry persecution of the Restoration Parliament, revived the Association in 1700, at Llanwennarth, in Monmouthshire. The Independents succeeded in establishing a large number of new causes. Popular preachers commanded audiences of several thousands. Numerous editions of the Welsh Bible, of the writings of Morgan Llwyd, and of Vicar Prichard's "Welshman's Candle," were issued; and several Nonconformist academies sprang up for the training of ministers.

However, the ranks of the Nonconformists were agitated by a number of doctrinal controversies which, while they checked the work of evangelisation, showed the existence of earnest thought. **Arminian Controversy, 1729-1749.** The greatest of these was the Arminian controversy, which lasted for about twenty years (1729-1749). The Arminians believed, in opposition to the Calvinists, that God is determined to save all who persevere in faith, and that man may fall from divine grace. The dispute raged chiefly in South Wales, where lay the strength of Nonconformity. In North Wales religion was at a very low ebb, and the people in a state of profound ignorance. The willing tools of Tory parson and Tory squire, they persecuted with great vehemence Nonconformist preachers who came to labour amongst them.

In fact, representative Welshmen of the eighteenth century looked upon Dissent as an evil. Ellis Wynn, whose work, entitled

Gwledigaethau y Bardd Cusg (The Visions of the Sleeping Bard), gave his countrymen a vivid description of the terrors of the nether world, represented Nonconformists as deserving of everlasting punishment. The book was published in 1703. Two years previously he had published a translation of Jeremy Taylor's *Rule and Exercise of Holy Living*. In the former "he lashes the immoralities of the age in masterly manner, and shows the beauty of a religious life in most poetical language." In 1716 was published *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* (Mirror of the First Ages), by Theophilus Evans. His object in this work was to show the Welsh the glories of their history. He too, regarded the Nonconformists with undisguised aversion, and attacks them with ruthless severity in other books which he wrote.

The great religious revival, or Methodist revival, which first broke out in districts where Nonconformity was already established, was ushered in by a number of distinguished Nonconformist preachers, chief among whom being Edmund Jones of Pontypool. But the giants with whose names the revival is intimately associated were clergy of the Established Church, who, realising that the increasing strength of Nonconformity was due in large measure to the sluggishness of the Church, endeavoured to fortify it against Dissent by bringing about radical reforms from within, and by fervid appeals to the masses to lead nobler lives. The first of these reformers was Griffith Jones, a native of Carmarthenshire. After receiving his education at the Grammar School there, he was ordained a priest in 1709. Seven years later he was presented to the living of Llanddowror, in his native county. Eminent for his piety and zeal, he soon won fame by his earnest eloquence as a preacher. His candid exposures of the corruption around him called forth the unreasoning hostility of the clergy and the censures of the ecclesiastical court. Yet he loved his country too well to be deterred by threats. Realising that the great yearning of the Welsh farmer was to be able to read his Welsh Bible, he started schools for that purpose. On this movement his fame chiefly rests (see later).

The awakening really began with Howel Harris, whose tempestuous eloquence, like the rush of a whirlwind, swept before it the decorous conventionalism of the Established Church, as well as the grosser vices of the mul-

**Welsh
Publications.**

**The
Methodist
Revival.**

**Griffith Jones,
1684-1761.**

**Howel Harris,
1714-1773.**

titude. Born at Trefecca, in Breconshire, in 1714, he was educated for the Church at Oxford, being a fellow-student with John Wesley. After leaving the University he returned to his native country and set up a circulating school. But it was his preaching that produced results which lived after him. From one place to another, he sought out the haunts and dens of Sabbath-breakers, turning cock-fights into preaching services, and sending his affrighted hearers home to brood over the terrors of hell. Not seldom he himself returned home, bruised, battered, and on the verge of death, such was the fury which his unconquerable determination and his passionate oratory provoked.

In Breconshire, in 1742, his co-worker was killed at his side by a stone-throw. Harris was remonstrated with by his clerical superiors, who refused to admit him into priest's orders for preaching as a layman. His effectiveness as a preacher lay in his terribly realistic descriptions of the dreadful consequences of a sinful life.

While Howel Harris made Breconshire, Radnorshire, Monmouthshire and Glamorgan his especial sphere of activity, another

Daniel Rowland, contemporary reformer, Daniel Rowland, roused Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. 1713-1790.

A native of Cardiganshire, he became curate at Llangeitho in that county. He was endowed with remarkable gifts as a preacher, his ministry being attended with startling results. In spite of his warm attachment for the Church of England, he was deprived of his living about the year 1763 for travelling about the country preaching in places which the Established Church considered unconsecrated. He had greater talents for organisation than Howel Harris, for whereas the Methodist societies established by the latter perished with few exceptions, those planted by Rowland in West Wales took root and flourished.

The poet of the movement was William Williams of Pantycelyn. Born of Nonconformist parents, near Llandovery, he was educated at the Nonconformist Academy at Llwynllwyd, near Hay. Having entered the Church, he served as a curate in Breconshire for three years, at the end of which he was refused ordination on account of

William Williams, Pantycelyn, 1717-1791.

his connection with Howel Harris. He then became a Methodist itinerant preacher. His hymns are the best in the language, his sweet evangelical thoughts being clothed in beautiful language.

As assistant to Daniel Rowland, he contributed largely towards organising the Welsh Methodist Connexion.

It is important to remember that the object of these reformers, as of the Wesleys and Whitefield in England, was to bring about a general improvement in morals and more earnestness within the Established Church. At first nothing was further from their policy than to form a separate Nonconformist body like the Independents or Baptists.

**The
Methodist
Association,
1743.**

Nevertheless, from the outset societies were formed by them for spiritual advancement, many of which ultimately became the nucleus of a Methodist cause. The first Welsh Methodist chapel appears to have been erected at Builth in 1747. A few years previously, in 1743, the Methodist societies formed an Association, the first meeting of which was held at Watford, near Caerphilly. The chief object of the Association was to examine preachers and appoint private exhorters among the laymen. Howel Harris was appointed to inspect them. All members of the societies were enjoined to take communion in the Church of England. Monthly meetings were to be held in every county, and a general Association of all the counties every three months. Thus was formed the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist body, for the organisation of which Daniel Rowland was mainly responsible.

The first moderator of the association was Whitefield, the eloquent representative of the Calvinistic Methodists in England. Thus between the Methodist movement in Wales and English and Welsh that in England there existed a very intimate connection. Whitefield frequently visited Wales on preaching missions, while on the other hand Howel Harris often preached in England, and took temporary charge of Whitefield's congregation in London. The Wesleys, too, gave much attention to Wales, where they founded a number of societies among the English section of the people. Their success would have been more conspicuous had they realised the necessity of cultivating the Welsh language and of utilising the services of Welshmen in the work of organisation. It was not until the formation of a Welsh province by the Wesleyans in 1800 that their cause prospered. Wales became predominantly Calvinistic, unlike England, which followed Wesley in adopting Arminianism.

It was not until 1811 that the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists separated from the Church of England. The question had been

mooted by a section as early as 1744. It assumed a graver aspect when Daniel Rowland was deprived of his church by the bishop about twenty years later. For he was then the most influential among the Welsh Methodists, Howel Harris having founded at Trefecca a sort of monastic establishment in 1752. But Rowland, though disappointed in his sincere hope of reforming the Church, feared that separation would be detrimental to the influence of Methodism. Before the end of the century, however, many Methodist chapels had been built through the ministry of the lay preachers. Their congregations were numerous, while the ordained ministers, who alone could minister the Sacraments, were few. There was a growing disinclination on the part of the members to take the Sacraments either in the Church of England or with the other Nonconformist bodies. Consequently, at Bala, in 1811, it was decided to ordain a number of the lay preachers to administer the Sacraments, of whom none were more successful than the celebrated John Elias. This ordination was in defiance of Episcopal authority, and constituted a breach with the Church of England. One of the chief agents in bringing this about, and one of the ablest of the founders of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism, was Thomas Charles of Bala.

Thomas Charles was born near Carmarthen, in 1755. Having been educated at Jesus College, Oxford, he entered a curacy in Somersetshire, whence he returned to Wales after a few years. He settled in Merionethshire in 1784. He was dismissed from his curacy near Bala, where he had only served for a few months, because he transgressed the rigid conventionalism of the Church. He then became an active member of the Calvinistic Methodists, amongst whom his ministry met with extraordinary success. He was pre-eminent as an organiser, and his name, as we shall see, is intimately connected with the Sunday School in Wales.

Thus the hostility to reform which characterised the Established Church, whose nervous ritual was so well calculated to appeal to the Welsh temperament, culminated in the formation of a powerful Welsh Calvinistic Methodist denomination. Not for many years afterwards did the Church rouse herself from the lethargy which had caused the secession, so that the work of evangelisation was confined exclusively to the Independents, Baptists, and the Methodists. These denominations

The Separation, 1811.

Thomas Charles.

Results.

laboured strenuously during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, dispelling the gloom of indolence and superstition which surrounded the Welsh peasantry, and making them intensely religious, law-abiding, vigorous subjects. Wales became a nation of Nonconformists. In this sense the religious revival was a peasant awakening, "the new birth of a nation." It was marked not only by a great advance in scriptural knowledge, but also by a fervid desire for educational improvement. The gulf between the peasant and the landowner became wider—for the landowner, unaffected by the movements around him, retained his attachment for the Church—a fact which had important consequences when the peasant was enfranchised in the nineteenth century. It is almost impossible to over-estimate the profound influence of this religious revival in Wales. The Welsh had retained their attachment for Catholicism later than the rest of Britain. They would have embraced Episcopalianism had it been presented to them in the national garb, instead of being associated with a callous attempt to suppress Welsh nationalism. Wales embraced Nonconformity because Nonconformity for many generations became synonymous with Welsh nationalism.

The Welsh peasant could hardly avail himself of the advantages afforded by the Grammar Schools founded in Wales by the Tudors, on account of their almost exclusively English character. It has been supposed that Henry VII promised to found a Welsh University in South Wales. It is certain that during the Commonwealth period John Lewis of Aberystwyth projected a college, which formed the subject of a correspondence between Oliver Cromwell and Richard Baxter. The seventeenth century saw the noteworthy efforts of Gouge, whose work was in some respects continued by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in England in 1698-9. This society turned its attention to Wales in 1701, with the object of promoting Welsh libraries, containing, amongst other books, Welsh translations of English religious publications. In 1711 books were furnished for four such libraries, one in each of the four Welsh dioceses, at Carmarthen, Bangor, St. Asaph and Cowbridge.

The educational edifice of Wales has its origin in the Circulating Schools of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, the first of which was started in that parish in 1730. The schools originated in the prac-

Education in Wales.

tice of catechising communicants preparatory to partaking of Communion on the Sunday, adults and young people being examined in the Catechism and taught the Scriptures in their mother tongue. When this practice had been in vogue for a number of years, it occurred to Griffith Jones to systematise the work by setting up Welsh circulating or charity schools, so that young and old could be taught to read the Scriptures in Welsh, and generally to promote their religious well-being. The schools prospered beyond his best hopes. The first school was supported from the sacrament money of his own parish. Its success commanded liberal support, so that it became possible to establish a number of others in different places. Teachers were engaged who remained in the same district for a few months, sufficiently long to enable the scholars to read Welsh; they then removed to the next village, where they worked on the same principles. School was held in the evening for those who could not attend in the day. Every school was revisited, the teachers thus making a circuit of the country.

To further the work he started a seminary for the training of efficient teachers. Most of these were drawn from the Nonconformist bodies. This was one of the chief causes of **Their Success.** the generally apathetic and occasionally violently hostile attitude of the Anglican clergy. The schools brought incalculable benefits to the Welsh people. In 1713 Griffith Jones had become a corresponding member of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which he prevailed upon to issue two editions of the Welsh Bible, in 1746 and 1752. The schools enabled the Welsh peasants to read and study the Bible more generally than hitherto. It is calculated that at the time of his death they numbered 218, while the number of children and adults taught to read in their own language totalled many thousands. After his death the good work was carried on by his friend Madam Bevan. On her death a dispute arose as to the funds, and the circulating schools came to an end in 1780.

Fortunately, Thomas Charles of Bala adopted Griffith Jones's plan of establishing circulating schools in Merionethshire, and carried them on with great success. It appears that a **Sunday Schools.** Sunday School existed at Llanidloes as early as 1770; but it was Thomas Charles who, in 1785, introduced them into Wales in the form in which they flourish to-day. They

were a serviceable handmaid in extending Welsh Calvinistic Methodism, for while the learners in the day schools became teachers on Sunday, the teachers employed by Charles supplemented their teaching by doing evangelistic work during the week. It was only to be expected that he should meet with much opposition at first. But this was overcome, and with the establishment of Sunday School Associations the work was crowned with success.

We have seen that about the year 1662 the first Nonconformist Academy was set up near Bridgend. Removed to Abergavenny

**Noncon-
formist
Seminaries.**

on the death of its founder in 1697, it was transferred to Carmarthen in 1704. There many of the clergy of the Established Church, as well as Nonconformist ministers, were educated early in the eighteenth century. It was dissolved in 1794; but another theological school was opened there in the following year, which is now known as the Presbyterian College. It is open to all Protestant Nonconformists. In 1755 an Independent Academy was established at Abergavenny, supported by the Congregational Fund Board. In 1836 the Congregational Churches of Wales were called upon to contribute to its support. This was done and the institution removed to Brecon in 1839. The object of these Academies was to educate young men for the ministry; for the Grammar schools of Wales were Church of England institutions, while the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were closed to all Nonconformists till late in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER IV

GEORGE III. 1760-1820.

Born 1738 ; married, 1761, Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

Part I. 1760-1789.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS :—

France. Louis XV (1715-1774).

Louis XVI (1774-1792).

Spain. Charles III (1759-1788).

Charles IV (1788-1808).

Prussia. Frederick II (1740-1786).

Frederick William II (1786-1797).

The Peace of Paris—George III—His Policy and Methods—Bute—Grenville—John Wilkes—Rockingham Ministry—Chatham's Second Administration—Lord North—The American War of Independence—Quebec Act—Saratoga—Chatham's attitude—The War in the West Indies—In Europe—Peace of Versailles—Ireland—Grattan's Parliament—India—Warren Hastings—Fox's India Bill—Pitt's India Bill—North's Ministry at Home—Shelburne—The Fox-North Coalition—William Pitt the Younger—His Commercial and Financial Reforms—Regency Question—Canada Act—The Industrial Revolution.

PITT, whose guidance and inspiration had led to such glorious results, found the new king, George III, less amenable to his will, and bent on having his own way. No sooner was George enthroned than he set himself deliberately to thwart his great Minister, whose exalted statesmanship would not permit him to hold himself responsible for a policy which he was not allowed to direct. The crash came soon. Pitt suspected the existence of another Family Compact between the Bourbon sovereigns of France and Spain, by which the latter was to assist in checking the advance of British arms. He therefore proposed to strike at the naval power of Spain without delay, before she could concentrate her forces. George dissented, using as his instrument Lord Bute, a wealthy Scottish

nobleman of very moderate capacity. Pitt failed to carry the Cabinet with him, and in October, 1761, sent in his resignation in disgust. In the following March Newcastle did likewise, but for a different reason. George was determined to control the patronage and jobbery which Newcastle had so freely exercised, and on which alone his parliamentary majority rested.

Accordingly, Bute became Prime Minister in 1762. He was anxious for peace. But, as Pitt had foreseen, Spain declared war,

The Peace of Paris, 1763.

a foolish move which put her colonies at the mercy of British squadrons, several of them, including Manila, the capital of the Philippine Isles, and Havana, the capital of Cuba, being immediately captured. Meanwhile, Bute was striving for peace: our subsidies to Prussia ceased, a step most unpalatable and scarcely just to Frederick, the stubborn ally who kept Europe employed while we laid the foundations of our Empire. In February, 1763, the Peace of Paris was hurried through, under circumstances resembling those of the Treaty of Utrecht half a century before. Britain, France and Spain were the chief signatories. Britain restored to France and Spain many of her recent conquests; to the former Pondicherry, which we had taken in 1761; to the latter Havana and Manila. Britain secured Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton Island—though France was allowed to share in the Newfoundland fisheries—Minorca, Florida, and several West India islands. She also acquired the right to cut logwood in Honduras Bay.

The gains to Britain were considerable, yet not what might have been expected from her magnificent victories. The wider interests

Character of the Peace.

of the country were sacrificed so that King George and Bute might snatch an advantage over the Whigs; though they could argue with justice that war was a costly business and Britain had emerged triumphant. It left her supreme in America—the French surrendered all except Louisiana, the Mississippi becoming the boundary between that province and British North America—and also in India, where the French were not allowed to garrison the trading stations restored to them. On the ocean Britain now had no rival.

The Whigs offered a vehement but futile resistance to the Peace. That the Newcastle-Pitt combination should have collapsed while

Henry Fox.

the splendour of Pitt's victories was still radiant, and the bulwark of patronage under Newcastle

apparently impregnable, was due partly to the influence of Henry Fox, Pitt's erstwhile rival, who, by unblushing corruption, then the indispensable handmaid of party government, brought over to the king's side a strong body of discontented Whigs, who hotly resented being deprived of their posts under the Crown. The true explanation, however, is to be found, in (1) the character of George III, and (2) the means by which Governments then retained power.

George was a young man of twenty-two at his accession. Unlike the first two Georges, he was thoroughly English, and took a lively pride in having been born and bred a Briton. Upright and honourable, his aims were pure. Nor did he lack courage. Ignorant and obstinate, he was

Character of George III.

swayed by prejudice, and his prejudices dictated that it was his business to rule. He had been trained in Bolingbroke's lofty Tory theories on the prerogative of kings. He must needs, therefore, detest the small oligarchy of great Whig families who had ruled the country so long, and also, it must be said, with so much lustre. Under the first Hanoverians ministers

His Policy.

dictated policy and dispensed patronage, their authority being derived from the majority in the House of Commons. This was the Party System. George III was resolved to cast off the fetters of party domination and instead of it to set up a system of personal rule, framing his own policy, choosing his own Ministers who would carry it out, and dispensing patronage with his own hands to secure a parliamentary majority. In a word, he would compass the destruction of the Whig ascendancy.

Although his slow mind did not for some years hit upon the most effective means of carrying out his purpose, George saw clearly enough that he must shatter the Whig phalanx.

His Methods.

He found a kernel of support at hand in the Tories under Bute, now shorn of their Jacobitism and keenly anxious for the overthrow of the Whigs. There were also many Whigs who resented the monopoly of power exercised by a few aristocratic families. The king's best hope of success, however, rested on the existence of so many "rotten boroughs," i.e. those parliamentary boroughs the representation of which was vested in some local landowner, and frequently sold to the highest bidder. It was estimated that more than 350 members were nominated by about 150 patrons. The boroughs were so small—sometimes little more

than a heap of ruins—that as many as 200 members were chosen by less than 100 electors. By unscrupulous jobbery the Whigs had organised the representation of these “rotten boroughs” into a formidable fighting force. By similar means George argued that he could build up a party of his own: for the distribution of patronage was the prerogative of the king, if he cared to use it. George did care. He therefore gathered around him a body of men who would always vote as he pleased. They were called the “King’s Friends.” He persevered in this course with extraordinary stubbornness until the ascendancy of the Whigs was completely overthrown.

George experienced many failures. His first failure came somewhat abruptly. He had been able, through the instrumentality of Lord Bute, to overthrow the Newcastle-Pitt administration when at the zenith of its fame. Nevertheless,

**Fall of Bute,
1763.**

Pitt remained intensely popular with the nation, while Bute made himself intensely unpopular. The unsatisfactory Peace of Paris was compared, to Bute’s disadvantage, with the dazzling victories which made Pitt’s Ministry so illustrious. Moreover, he failed to bear the strain of the storm of abuse which was provoked by his proposal to place a tax on cider in order to pay the expenses of the war. To the king’s disgust, he therefore tendered his resignation.

The “King’s Friends” were not yet sufficiently numerous to carry on the Government alone. Fortunately for George, the Whigs were so many fragments. He regarded the main trunk, under the leadership of Rockingham, with a robust hatred. Another section gathered around Pitt. George Grenville, Pitt’s brother-in-law, with whom he had quarrelled, was the centre of a third group; a fourth, the “Bloomsbury gang,” was headed by the Duke of Bedford. George, being constrained to fall back upon one of these sections, chose Grenville, who brought with him the Duke of Bedford’s following. Grenville was sufficiently competent in the routine of government, but he lacked the higher qualities of statesmanship. Personally he was narrow, vain and irritating, not much unlike his sovereign; he and Bedford were kept in office by the sheer inability of George to find substitutes.

Grenville’s was notoriously the worst of the Whig ministries.

**The Grenville
or Bedford
Ministry,
1763-1765.**

His first blunder was in connection with the affair of John Wilkes, M.P. for Aylesbury. Wilkes was the editor of the *North Briton*. In No. 45 of that publication he launched a scurrilous criticism upon the King's Speech, describing as a lie the statement in it that the Peace of Paris was "honourable and beneficial." Ministers alone are responsible for the King's Speech, which is made at the opening of Parliament. Nevertheless George took the attack as a personal affront. Thereupon Grenville resolved to prosecute, and Wilkes, as well as his printers and publishers, was arrested on a general warrant, that is, a warrant which, without specifying any name, enables an arrest to be made on suspicion. Wilkes rightly demanded to be brought to justice; Chief Justice Pratt declared that such warrants were illegal; Wilkes was discharged. It was wrong to arrest Wilkes at all, for as Member of Parliament he was not liable to arrest except for treason, felony, or a breach of the peace. For this illegal imprisonment Wilkes obtained very heavy damages. Baffled before the judges, Grenville had recourse to Parliament. The Commons declared No. 45 of the *North Briton* to have published a seditious libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman; the Lords attacked him for having written a most offensive and obscene poem entitled "Essay on Woman," being a parody on Pope's "Essay on Man." Expelled from the House, he was outlawed and sought refuge abroad. A flood of indignation swept the country; riots ensued. Wilkes expelled from Parliament. Of undoubted cleverness, though of questionable integrity, Wilkes by these events had won boundless, if cheap, popularity.

In 1764 the Ministry committed a second blunder. This was the Stamp Act, by which legal documents in America were made liable to a stamp duty. To this we shall return. Then came a final indiscretion which brought Ministers to grief. In 1765 George was seized with a malady which recurred at intervals and clouded his later years. This time it was of short duration, yet it made urgent the necessity of providing for a possible regency. With this object a Bill was framed. Ministers wished to exclude George's mother from the Bill on account of her influence with Bute. With considerable reluctance George gave his consent. When the Bill came before Parliament the Commons reinstated her name. To save himself from further

ignominy, George in July dismissed Grenville, under whose intolerable rudeness he had long since chafed, and whose long speeches he detested.

Pitt, who was now invited to form an administration, proved obdurate. Accordingly George addressed himself to the official

Rockingham Whigs under the leadership of the Marquis of Rock-
Ministry, ingham, the party which he had hitherto rigidly
1765-1766. excluded from office. They passed a few salutary

measures. General warrants were declared illegal, a measure which calmed the Wilkes agitation. Its most profound difficulty was in connection with the taxation of the American colonies. A

"Declaratory Act" was passed asserting the right of the British

Edmund Parliament to legislate for our colonies, and tax
Burke. them. At the same time the obnoxious Stamp Act

was repealed, on the advice of a brilliant young Irish-
 man who now for the first time sat in Parliament. This was Edmund
 Burke, the greatest political thinker of his time. Pitt also gave
 the measure his support, on the grounds that our trade with America,
 then worth about £3,000,000 a year, was too valuable an asset to
 risk for the insignificant return that the Stamp Act was likely to
 produce.

Rockingham's Ministry collapsed within a year. Pitt's sym-
 pathy with it was transient. He disliked the Declaratory Act;

Its Fall. and he was out of harmony with its aristocratic
 exclusiveness. He had always wished to base his

power on popular support, and was for this reason called the
 "Great Commoner." Therefore, when the King's Friends were
 directed to hold aloof, Rockingham failed to carry on the Govern-
 ment, and was dismissed. But George did not take this step
 before he had assured himself of Pitt's readiness to fill the breach.
 Accordingly Pitt, whose views were in many respects in full
 accord with those of his Sovereign, consented to form a second
 administration.

Though Grafton was the nominal head of the new Ministry,
 Pitt was its mainspring. Yet, in spite of that great name, the

Chatham- Government was doomed to an unlucky career, for
Grafton various reasons. (i) The Ministry was a patchwork
Ministry, formed on non-party lines, including Whigs and
1766-1770. King's Friends, which Burke in his inimitable fashion
 described as a piece of mosaic without cement, unsafe to touch

and dangerous to stand on. (ii) Pitt's health and vigour of mind were impaired. He could not, therefore, inspire his less competent colleagues, or weld together warring factions. Indeed he took but very little active part in the Government. (iii) This physical and mental breakdown made it impossible for him to weather the storms of the House of Commons. Accordingly he took the title of Earl of Chatham and retired to the calmer atmosphere of the House of Lords. His critics bitterly remarked that he had had a fall upstairs, and would not be able to stand on his legs again. There he had no influence over the House of Commons, whereas his relations with the King were interpreted to his disadvantage.

Why the Ministry failed.

Among Chatham's projected schemes was an alliance with the northern powers, Russia and Prussia, to counteract the Bourbons in France and Spain. However, he did not remain long in the Ministry. Firstly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, a man devoid of political sagacity, taxed the American colonists by putting import duties on certain articles. The revenue thus

Chatham withdraws from the Ministry, 1768.

obtained was comparatively trifling, about £40,000; but the proposal raised a storm of indignation, just when the repeal of the Stamp Act was bidding fair to allay the hostility of the colonists. Townshend died soon afterwards and was succeeded by the Tory Lord North. Chatham vehemently disapproved of such measures. Secondly, young Burke was ruthless in his criticism of the Government, advocating in a pamphlet entitled "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontent," party government in preference to such coalitions as that of Grafton. Thirdly, the Wilkes affair was renewed with damaging effect, a matter on which Chatham thought that George III acted in too vindictive a spirit. He therefore left the Ministry in October, 1768.

At the General Election in that year Wilkes was returned for Middlesex. On the king's initiative, he was not allowed to take his seat, but was arrested on his previous charge.

Wilkes.

The mob flew into a frenzy of rage. They were fired upon by order of one of the Secretaries of State, Lord Weymouth, and there was some bloodshed. Expelled from Parliament, Wilkes was promptly re-elected, three times in succession. The affair ended in Colonel Luttrell, Wilkes's opponent, being declared elected, although he had polled less than 300 votes, Wilkes polling over

1,100. Nothing could have been more disastrous to the prestige of the House of Commons than that the chosen representatives of the constituencies should be scouted by Ministers and King's Friends. Obviously, the Ministry had become completely subservient to the royal will—which George had consistently aimed at—and were setting the nation at defiance. The deep and widespread discontent felt with the King and the Government found outspoken expression in the "Letters of Junius," by an anonymous writer whose skilful, pungent satire was no less effective in that it was somewhat coarse.

The taunts hurled at Grafton made his position so uncomfortable that he resigned in 1770. His place was taken by Lord North, a minister selected by George himself. Sharp party divisions among the Whigs had played into his hands. Now he could do as he pleased, for a commanding majority of King's Friends was forthcoming to carry out his will in the House of Commons. Lord North, whose tact and ingenuity kept him in office for twelve years, was a good administrator. His chief qualification was his willingness to do the behests of the king, who was the real Prime Minister. But George was less wise than ambitious, and his incompetency resulted in calamitous blunders. North was one of the King's Friends and a Tory. Chatham, temporarily recovered, thundered furious denunciations against the new Ministers; but the Whigs were enfeebled by factions which blunted their efficiency in Parliament and made them unpopular in the country. However, loss of office after such a long monopoly—for North was the first Tory Prime Minister under the Hanoverians—produced a chastening effect; for it convinced them of the need of sweeping away the grossly corrupt methods by which parliamentary majorities were obtained. Our relations with the American colonists now became the all-absorbing question.

The achievements of Wolfe and the collapse of French rule in Canada profoundly affected the relations between the American colonists and the mother country: the former no longer required the assistance of British fleets and British regiments to prevent the intrusion of rival French colonists. Now, although their respective governors were appointed at home, the thirteen American colonies enjoyed practical self-government. Moreover, the legal right of Britain to regulate

Letters of
Junius, 1769.

Lord North
becomes
Prime
Minister, 1770.

The Ameri-
can Colonies.

the trade of the colonies in her own interests was undisputed. It was in virtue of this right that the colonists were forbidden to trade directly with any other country except Britain, and in British bottoms; that American manufactures were restricted and discouraged so as not to compete with British-made goods; and that certain goods were taxed on entering American ports. The colonists had long since fretted beneath these obnoxious burdens. Still, the tension had been relieved by the studied laxity with which Walpole had administered the trade regulations or Navigation Acts, and connived at the vast smuggling trade which was carried on between the colonists and the Spanish settlements.

Grenville was legally in the right when, in 1764, he endeavoured to suppress smuggling by putting the Navigation Acts

(i) **Grenville and the Stamp Act.** in force; for smuggling meant so much loss to the revenue. Nevertheless the act was inexpedient. He further incensed the Americans by raising the

taxes on imports with the avowed object not of regulating trade, but of raising revenue. Lastly, in the following year, 1765, he passed the Stamp Act, the object of which was to raise revenue on such transactions as wills, receipts, and other legal documents. Grenville argued that while he had no desire to curtail the liberties of the colonists, it was just that they should bear part of the financial burden which had been contracted by the home government in order to emancipate them from their French rivals. He also proposed to maintain a permanent force in America. But the colonists had the instinctive pride of a great landed aristocracy, and were imbued with those Puritan principles of taxation against which the Stuarts had contended in vain. According to those principles,

Objections of the Colonists. people can be taxed only by their own representatives. The colonists had no representatives in Parliament, nor was it practicable. They were prepared, however, to make contributions. Moreover, the Stamp Duty was an inland tax, and the first attempt of its kind to raise revenue. It could not be based on the right to regulate trade. Therefore the colonists protested. A violent agitation was set on foot, accompanied by furious mob oratory. The stamped paper was boycotted, and even thrown into the fire. Nine colonies sent their delegates to a congress at New York. It was actually suggested that they should set up an independent republic.

In the following year, 1766, the Rockingham Ministry wisely

repealed the Stamp Act, adding a Declaratory Act, which asserted the right of the British Parliament to legislate for the colonists and tax them. The repeal was due to the clear political vision of Edmund Burke and the explosive eloquence of Pitt, who declared that the mother country had no moral right to tax the colonists. Pitt thus objected to the Declaratory Act. Some of the duties were abolished, others were reduced. Goods became cheaper by the amount of duty thus taken off: consequently, sales increased enormously, so that the revenue derived was actually greater than under the higher duties. Further, smuggling was reduced, in that it became unprofitable to risk in order to escape the lowered duties.

Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer under the Grafton administration, reopened the wound. In 1767 he imposed small taxes on six articles, including paper, glass, painters' colours and tea. But the duties were imposed not so much for their commercial value as to insist on the right of the Government at home to impose them. There was another angry and embittered outburst. The Americans would not pay. Britain resorted to coercion and reinforcements were sent out. Riots became frequent. In 1770 the troops fired on the mob in Boston; a few were killed, and a few more wounded. The unlucky affair became known as the Boston massacre, though the soldiers were acquitted by an American jury. Such was the position when Lord North came into office.

Feeling ran high. Lord North, with more goodwill than penetration, repealed the obnoxious duties, except that on tea. He failed to see that the colonists objected to the principle of taxation without representation, not to certain specific duties. The compromise infuriated rather than appeased them. As though relations were not already sufficiently strained, an untoward incident in 1773 made the tension still more acute. Benjamin Franklin allowed some private letters to be published, which showed that the Governor of Massachusetts was hostile to the colonists and prepared to deal severely with them. The same year occurred the Boston tea-party. Some English ships were lying in Boston harbour with a consignment of tea. The colonists

(ii) **Its Repeal by the Rockingham Ministry, 1766.**

(iii) **Townshend's Customs Duties.**

(iv) **Lord North.**

The Boston Tea-Party. Dec., 1773.



prevented its landing, while a number of them, disguised as Red Indians, one evening boarded the ships and threw the cargoes of tea into the sea. The Boston magistrates declared that they could not find the culprits. This called forth drastic measures from the Government. The constitution of Massachusetts, of which Boston was the capital, was annulled, and the colony was put under Crown officers. The port of Boston was closed, the custom-house being removed to Salem, which spelt ruin for Boston merchants. Another Act was passed by which persons accused of neglect of duty were to be tried in England. Lastly, British troops were quartered on the colonists. Events had now reached a crisis.

Very indiscreetly, Parliament in 1774 passed the Quebec Act to improve the government of Canada. The French colonists being in a decided majority, French laws were allowed to remain in force side by side with the English, although the Government officials were appointed by the Crown.

**Quebec Act,
1774.**

As the French were Catholics, the Roman Catholic Church was allowed to remain supreme. Such measures served but to alienate the sturdy Puritan sentiment which animated the bulk of the American colonists.

In September, 1774, twelve of the thirteen colonies—Georgia was the exception—sent representatives to a congress at Philadelphia. Its object was to organise resistance. The right of the mother country to regulate trade was admitted, but not to tax for revenue. Recent penal acts were condemned; the militia was formed. Virginia had been among the foremost, and the Virginian planter, George Washington, became Commander-in-chief. For the first time serious thought was given to independence as the only solution. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, and Burke made passionate but vain appeals to prevent a breach. Lord North made a belated attempt at conciliation: a Bill was passed exempting from taxation those colonies which made an adequate grant to the Exchequer. It was too late. The Massachusetts Assembly was elected in defiance of the Governor's orders; it refused to disperse, and called out the militia. This force, in April, came into conflict with a detachment of the British regulars, who were in garrison at Lexington, north of Boston. The colonists compelled the British to retire, with some loss. The war had begun.

**Lexington,
April, 1775.**

This slight success encouraged the Americans, as it convinced

them of their ability to stand up against regular troops. Thereupon they resolved to blockade Boston. They seized Bunker's Hill, which overlooks the town, on the opposite side of the harbour. After several attempts and great loss of life General Gage stormed the hill. But the Americans gained more confidence.

Such were the circumstances which led to the War of American Independence. Independence was not the avowed object of the colonists at the outset. On that question opinion was sharply divided on the other side of the Atlantic, while in England there existed a strong stream of sober opinion opposed to the demand for unconditional surrender put forward by King George. What the Americans insisted on was that Britain should repudiate her claim to tax the colonists for revenue. With this object they made a last futile plea in what was called the "Olive Branch Petition." The importance of the struggle is therefore political and constitutional, not military. The armies engaged were small, badly drilled and badly equipped. In his choice of commanders George showed a sad want of discrimination. The Americans, on the other hand, were fortunate in their choice of George Washington, a general of ability, resolution and enthusiasm, who now took over the command.

During the winter (1775-1776) Washington encamped around Boston. An attempt on the part of the colonists to invade Canada and destroy British authority there came to grief, for the Canadians had been befriended by the Quebec Act. Having captured Dorchester Heights, which commanded Boston, Washington blockaded the town. Howe, who had supplanted Gage, thereupon evacuated the town and withdrew by sea to Halifax, capital of Nova Scotia. Emboldened by these events, the Americans fearlessly declared for independence. On July 14, 1776, Congress, representing the thirteen colonies, renounced their allegiance to King George, issued the Declaration of Independence, and constituted themselves into a federal republic called the United States of America.

The events which immediately followed did not justify so much daring. Howe had occupied Long Island, outside New York. Washington, in an attempt to expel him, was defeated at the Battle of Brooklyn (August). New York, which Washington accordingly failed to hold, became

**Bunker's Hill,
June.**

**Chief Features
of the War.**

**Declaration
of Independ-
ence, July,
1776.**

**Why Britain
failed.**

the British headquarters. Instead of pursuing his advantage with that inflexible vigour generally associated with the name of the British soldier, Howe frittered away precious months in disastrous inaction. A bold stroke would probably have scattered Washington's dispirited and ill-organised levies. Instead, Washington was allowed to exercise to the full his wonderful power of rallying his troops and infusing into them new hope and courage.

The Americans now made Philadelphia their headquarters. The next intention of the British was to isolate the northern or New England group of colonies. To do this (General **Surrender at Saratoga, October, 1777.** Burgoyne was to march from Canada along the Valley of the Hudson, while General Clinton was to advance northwards from New York to meet him. Howe, with strange unwisdom, chose the moment to attack Washington at Philadelphia. He was successful, defeating the Americans at Brandywine Creek and occupying Philadelphia (September, 1777). Meanwhile Clinton's march north had been delayed by these operations. The delay was fatal. The American General Gates fell upon Burgoyne at Saratoga before he could be reinforced by Clinton, and forced him to surrender with his whole force (October 17). With characteristic incapacity Howe remained in idleness at Philadelphia till the following spring.

The war now enters upon a new phase. Hitherto it had been a contest between Britain and her rebellious colonists, in which the ultimate triumph of the colonists had not been seriously contemplated. The catastrophe at Saratoga had the fateful result of showing Europe that the Americans could do more than hold their own. France, long to avenge her recent humiliations at the hands of Britain, especially the loss of Canada, thought the hour had come. She recognised American independence, and made a treaty with the colonists in February, 1778. In view of this dark prospect, British opinion was divided as to the best course to pursue. George was for war to the end. The Rockingham Whigs wished to make peace with the colonists by recognising their independence, a motion to that end being brought into the House of Lords. The motion roused to fury the passion of Chatham for the integrity of the Empire which he had done so much to build up. He had believed from the first that the Americans were right in opposing taxation without repre-

Second Phase of the War, 1778-1783.

Attitude of Chatham.

sentation. He considered the appeal to arms to have been a sad blunder. Even now he was convinced that conciliation was the only policy which could avoid the disruption which threatened,

but in which he could never have acquiesced. So
His Death. violent were his feelings against dismemberment
May, 1778. that, although utterly broken in health, he appeared in the House of Lords to speak against the motion. He could scarcely be heard. Before he had finished he fell back in a fit. He had spoken for the last time. A few weeks later, on May 11, 1778, he died. He might perhaps have saved the American colonies. No one else could.

In 1779 Spain, and in 1780 Holland, joined our enemies, whereas Prussia and Russia agreed to prevent Britain searching the ships of neutral Powers. This was called the "armed
A Dark neutrality." The outlook was indeed gloomy. Not
Prospect. only France, who had been steadily strengthening her fleet, but also the two other naval powers of Europe, were arrayed against us. We therefore temporarily lost command of the sea; and it was an ominous sign when a French fleet unhampered by a British flotilla could cross the Atlantic, carrying French soldiers to assist our foes. Greatly outnumbered, our fleet had to operate in the West Indies to protect British interests and colonies there; it had to defend British possessions in European waters, chief amongst them being Gibraltar, the recapture of which was the passionate desire of every Spanish sailor; lastly, it had to keep up communications between the various divisions of the British army on the American coast. It was the failure of the fleet to accomplish this that finally lost us the American colonies.

The last stage was another surrender of a British army at Yorktown, on Chesapeake Bay. It came about as follows. General
Surrender at Clinton, in 1778, was compelled to abandon Philadelphia and retire to New York. Next year Lord
Yorktown, Cornwallis landed with an army at Charleston in
1781. South Carolina. His task was to secure the southern colonies, where the loyalists were comparatively numerous. In his progress northwards he defeated the Americans at Camden in 1780, and at Guildford in 1781. On reaching Virginia he was less successful. Meanwhile Clinton, being hard pressed by Washington at New York, ordered Cornwallis to send him a detachment of his troops and take refuge in Yorktown. Then Washington, before Clinton

became aware of his plans, marched on Yorktown. A French fleet, co-operating with him, sailed into Chesapeake Bay and prevented any intelligence reaching the town by sea. Cornwallis found himself entrapped. Accordingly, in October, 1781, he had no alternative but to surrender. This calamity virtually put an end to the war as far as America was concerned. Britain's failure was due to (i) temporary loss of the command of the sea; (ii) blundering tactics of our generals and incapacity of the Government at home; and (iii) the ability of George Washington and the assistance he received from the French.

There were two other theatres of war, the West Indies and European waters. In Europe frantic efforts were made by the combined fleets of Spain and France to wrest Minorca and Gibraltar, the possession of which by Britain was so damaging to the pride of Spain. Early in 1780 Admiral Rodney threw supplies into Gibraltar, defeating successively two hostile flotillas; while the governor, Elliot, defended it with fierce determination. One of Rodney's most illustrious captains was the gallant Timothy Edwards. On one occasion Elliot completely destroyed his enemies' guns by firing red-hot shot. In 1782 his sterling tenacity was crowned with a final triumph, for the combined fleets of France and Spain, after bombarding the beleaguered fortress with relentless fury for five days, were at last compelled to relinquish the siege which they had incessantly carried on for three years. Minorca was less fortunate. It succumbed to the more numerous squadrons of the Spaniards the same year (February).

In the West Indies our chief remaining possessions were the Barbadoes and Jamaica. Several small islands had been lost. In 1782 the French Admiral De Grasse—he who had sailed into Chesapeake Bay and brought about the surrender of Lord Cornwallis—formed a daring scheme for the conquest of Jamaica. But he was out-manceuvred by Admiral Rodney, who, on April 12, forced him to an engagement near Dominica, and won an overwhelming victory. De Grasse's flagship was taken and his fleet disabled. Rodney not only had saved Jamaica; he had also restored the naval supremacy of Britain.

In the following year peace was arranged. The independence of the United States was recognised. This proved not only a severe

**Siege of
Gibraltar,
1779-1782.**

**Rodney's
Victory
in the West
Indies.**

blow to British prestige, but also a painful loss to British prosperity; for the American colonists had been excellent customers of British-made goods. Spain received Minorca and Florida, but was denied Gibraltar, which she had desired above all else. France secured Senegal and Tobago. Most other conquests of importance were restored by the belligerents. All had been anxious for peace; Spain and France were left with empty treasuries; the Americans, who had abandoned their ordinary occupations for the purpose of war, were eager to return, while Britain, now that she had recovered her naval supremacy, could sign the peace with honour.

During these anxious years of storm and stress Ireland added to Britain's perils. That unhappy country was ruled by an insignificant minority of Protestant landlords. The harshest

Ireland. of land laws weighed oppressively upon the miserable Irish peasant, who had to pay an exorbitant rent for his little patch of ground; while extreme religious intolerance and the harshest of penal codes strangled every generous sentiment among the Catholics. Thus many an Irishman had crossed the Atlantic to fight against Britain in a land of greater freedom. Still, Britain's difficulties in Ireland came not from the Irish Catholics, but from the Protestants. Protestants alone could sit in the Irish Parliament; Protestants alone could vote for members. This notwithstanding, political feeling amongst them was dead, for the Irish Parliament had no independent power of legislation. It might suggest legislation to the English Privy Council, in virtue of Poyning's Law; but it was the Privy Council that framed its laws; the Irish Parliament could only accept or reject what was thus submitted. Moreover, by the Act of 1719, the British Parliament was empowered to legislate for Ireland without any reference whatever to the Irish Parliament, with the result that the sister isle was ruled from Westminster in the interests of England. Irish manufactures which competed with those of England were discouraged; the linen industry of Ulster was ruined. In Church and State all lucrative posts were conferred on Englishmen.

It was the American War which brought the Irish Protestant an opportunity for redress. Under the stress of foreign wars

Grattan's Parliament, 1782. English troops were withdrawn from Ireland. To fill the void Protestant volunteers were enrolled—Catholics were not allowed to bear arms. In 1780

these volunteers realised the power thus placed in their hands, and made unexpected use of it. Swayed by the convincing oratory and stormy eloquence of Grattan, the Irish Parliament resolved to imitate the American colonists. The British Parliament was helpless; to appease the Irish it repealed many of the restrictions which had fettered Irish manufactures. This was not enough. With a body of resolute volunteers in arms ready to enforce his demands, Grattan, in 1782, demanded legislative independence, and a declaration to this effect passed through the Irish Parliament. The hard-pressed Government of George III had no alternative but to abolish the powers of the Privy Council in Irish affairs. Next year, a Renunciatory Act gave Ireland complete legislative independence. Still, it was the independence of the Protestant minority alone. Grattan, indeed, eased the severities which pressed upon the Irish Catholics; but many years were to elapse before they were given a voice in the government of their country.

The unkind wound inflicted by the American colonists and the defiant attitude of Ireland were not the only causes of anxiety to British statesmen in these years. India, too, was vulnerable. In 1760 Clive came home. During his absence, in 1764, the Nawab of Oudh made a desperate effort to destroy British influence in Bengal. Major Hector Munro met him at Buxar, and with one decisive blow scattered the Nawab's troops, a victory which enabled the British to penetrate to Allahabad. Next year Clive returned. His first administrative act had far-reaching consequences. He made an arrangement with the Great Mogul by which Mir Jaffar, nominal Nawab of Bengal, was given a pension, and that vast province transferred to the East India Company, to be held by them as a fief of the Mogul Empire. Thus the officials of the company became the governors of extensive territories, including Bengal and Orissa. The other territories of the Company were Madras and Bombay.

The task of Clive and the East India company was thus twofold: to govern a huge native population, and to provide substantial dividends for the shareholders, for the company was primarily a body of merchants. It was inevitable that these two objects should clash, and when that happened the natives were sacrificed. Consequently disorders were rife; famine, cruelty, and corruption each adding its share to the miseries and terrors of the natives. Even Clive's

**Clive in
India, 1765.**

**Regulating
Act of North,
1773.**

administration was not above suspicion, though a proposed vote of censure on his conduct miscarried. To remedy these evils, Lord North, in 1773, passed a Regulating Act, which placed the hitherto independent Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay under a Governor-General. He was to be the Governor of Bengal, to whom the Governors of Madras and Bombay were to be subordinate. He was to be appointed by the Crown; and was to be assisted by a Council of four appointed by Parliament. The

**Warren
Hastings.**

Company still remained responsible for the government of these Indian provinces, but Parliament secured closer supervision. The Governor of Bengal at the time was Warren Hastings. He therefore became the first Governor-General.

Warren Hastings ushers in a new epoch in the history of India. Of unquestionable skill in administration, he prospered best in the

His Rule. shady paths of intrigue, an essential quality in dealing with eastern potentates. It is important to bear in mind that the only parts of India which were beneath his control were Bengal, the Carnatic, the coastland between them, viz., Orissa and the Cirkars, and Bombay. The chief native states that Hastings came into contact with, and that shared the rule of India with the British, were Oudh, the Marathas, and Mysore. Though his dealings with these constituted a formidable task, Hastings did not receive as much support as he might have expected from his Council.

The province of Oudh bordered on Bengal on the north-west. The victory of Munro at Buxar had already paved the way for British influence there. Warren Hastings had carried

**(i) The
Rohillas.**

it further in 1773, while he was yet simply Governor of Bengal. It happened thus. The Rohillas, a fierce Afghan tribe, had established themselves in the north-west of Oudh. The Nawab of Oudh wished to subdue them, appealed to Hastings for assistance, received it, and accomplished his object. Indirectly British influence considerably increased, while the East India Company's soldiers were kept there and maintained by the Nawab. His conduct in this business was one of the charges preferred against Hastings on his return to England.

His difficulties were greater in southern India. Hyder Ali, a robber-soldier of astonishing ability, made himself master of Mysore. In 1780 he invaded the Carnatic, cut up a force sent out against

him, and threatened to overwhelm Madras with his countless hosts.

(ii) **Hyder Ali, 1780-1784.** Sir Eyre Coote, the hero of Wandewash, was despatched from Calcutta by Hastings. Having arrived at Madras, he was at first repulsed, but recovered and completely routed Hyder Ali at Porto Novo or Cuddalore (1781). Next year Coote defeated him again at Arnee. Meanwhile the French, who about the same time interfered in America with such damaging results to British arms, sent a fleet to the Indian Ocean to assist Hyder Ali. Fortunately, in 1784, Hyder died; his son Tippoo Sahib made peace with Hastings.

Warren Hastings was equally prompt in his dealings with the unscrupulous Marathas. A difficulty having arisen between them

(iii) **The Marathas.** and the British at Bombay, and a British contingent having suffered a reverse at their hands, he sent a force from Calcutta across India to restore the prestige of British authority.

His ambitious policy could not be carried on without gold. At the same time the Company clamoured for profits. Accordingly

(iv) **The Rajah of Benares,** Hastings was compelled to resort to questionable expedients. He demanded from Cheyte Singh, the Raja of Benares, a vassal of the India Company, a large contribution, which was refused. Thereupon, Hastings summarily forfeited the Raja's estates, a species of conduct which was as high-handed as the original demand was unjustifiable.

and the **Begums of Oudh.** Equally overbearing was his treatment of the Begums or Princesses of Oudh, whose property he transferred to the new Nawab of Oudh in order that that potentate might be in a position to pay the subsidies due from that province to the British.

These Oriental methods of Hastings, the complaints of the distressed natives, the inefficiency of North's Regulating Act, and

Fox's India Bill, 1783. the difficulties into which Hastings's bold schemes had brought the affairs of the Company, led to the introduction of an India Bill by Charles James

Fox in 1783, which was supported by Burke. It was proposed to transfer the political power of the Company to a body of seven Commissioners appointed by Parliament for four years, at the end of which period the power of nominating was to revert to the Crown. The bill also shadowed many reforms for the benefit of the natives. The commercial

business of the Company was to be controlled by another body of commissioners appointed in the first place by Parliament. The East India Company saw in these proposals the abolition of their chartered rights. Other similar companies took the alarm and raised an outcry. The King's Friends were up in arms because—an objection which could be urged with equal force against Pitt's India Bill—it threatened to transfer to the Government a powerful engine of patronage which should be the prerogative of the Crown or the Company. Nevertheless, the lofty eloquence of Burke and the crushing debating power of Fox secured its passing through the Commons by a large majority. The King was furious. He authorised Lord Temple to say that he would consider as his personal enemy any of the peers who would vote for it. "If this bill passes," said one of the King's Friends, "the king will take the diadem from his own head and put it on the head of Mr. Fox." Overawed by George's conduct, which was far from constitutional, the Lords threw it out. By this time the King had created so many peers from among his "friends" that he commanded a majority in the House of Lords. The Ministry of Fox and North was dismissed, and William Pitt, the younger, became Prime Minister.

In August, 1784, Pitt brought forward his India Bill. A Board of Control was established, consisting of six members, who were to exercise supervision over the political, civil and military affairs of India. The Board was to be appointed by the Government of the day, and its President was to be a member of the Government. The Governor-general and the Commander-in-chief were appointed by the Company, subject to the approval of the Board. As before, Madras and Bombay, although each had its own Governor, were made subordinate to Bengal. The Company retained sole control of commercial affairs, as well as a general right to advise the Governor-General. The system of Indian government established by this Bill lasted until 1858, when the Crown assumed control.

In 1786 Lord Cornwallis sailed for India to take up the duties of Governor-General under the new system. The previous year Warren Hastings had returned to England. In 1787 the angry Whigs, led by Burke, Fox and Sheridan, impeached him on charges of tyranny, extortion and corruption. Of the specific charges the chief were: (i) his treatment of the Raja of Benares and the Begums of Oudh;

**Pitt's India
Bill, 1784.**

**Trial of
Warren
Hastings,
1788-1795.**

(ii) his employment of British troops as mercenaries of the Nawab of Oudh in the Rohilla affair. The indictment contained many gross offences which Pitt failed to condone, and he remained neutral. George, however, was his stalwart defender. After a trial which the dilatory methods of the time protracted over seven years, Hastings was acquitted. He had been stern and overbearing, and his methods of questionable integrity. But he did a great work. He built a solid and lasting edifice of British rule on the foundations laid by Clive, which the ablest among his successors appreciated and added to, and he did it though subjected to persistent discouragement, opposition and calumny.

Let us return to the play of parties at home, and the fortunes of the Governments responsible for the stirring events that had taken place abroad. In 1770, as we have seen, Lord North's Ministry, North became Prime Minister. The real head of the 1770-1782. Government, however, was George himself, to whom North was completely subservient. It was he who framed policy ; it was he who directed other Ministers. This has been called the " Departmental System " of Government, which put the Cabinet System temporarily in abeyance.

The chief concern of North's ministry was the War of American Independence. At home there were few events of importance. The corrupt methods by which George obtained and secured his parliamentary majority made the publication of the proceedings in the House distasteful to the King's Friends. Accordingly an attempt was made in 1771 to prevent the publishing of the debates of the Commons. This was foiled by the efforts of Wilkes and the Lord Mayor of London. The publication of debates, technically a breach of privilege since 1728, had been connived at. Since 1771 the proceedings of the House have been publicly reported, with only occasional interruptions. In

the following year a Royal Marriage Act was passed, forbidding any member of the royal family to marry without the consent of the reigning Sovereign. It was a triumph for the Crown.

In 1778 Sir George Savile secured the passing of a praiseworthy measure by which some of the most odious penal laws against the Catholics were repealed. It was no longer a breach of the law for a Catholic priest to celebrate Mass ; and the disabilities regarding the purchase of and succession

**Publication
of Debates,
1771.**

**Royal
Marriage
Act, 1772.**

**Catholic
Relief, 1778.**

to land were removed. The agitation against this modest measure of relief was so swift and fierce in Scotland that the measure there became void. In England there was a wild outburst of popular rage, which took as its war-cry "No Popery." Its leader was Lord George Gordon, a half-crazy fanatic who gathered around him a riotous mob of nearly a hundred thousand. The prisons were burst open and Catholic places of worship were destroyed. For three days London was completely at their mercy. With considerable courage George called out the military. The soldiers fired on the mob, and there was considerable loss of life before order was finally restored. The riots are vividly described in Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge*. The remembrance of these had a salutary effect in England when the French Revolution broke out a few years later. Meanwhile they had a more immediate effect on parliamentary and economic reform.

The Gordon Riots, 1780.

Disasters in America were now gradually undermining North's Administration, and drawing attention to the need for reform. One section among the Whigs, led by Shelburne, a disciple of Chatham, clamoured for "Parliamentary Reform."

In other words, they wished to do away with the rotten boroughs and give more members to populous towns. Shelburne received but little support, for many of his party were members for rotten boroughs. The most extreme proposals in this direction were those of the Duke of Richmond in 1780, advocating annual elections, manhood suffrage and equal electoral districts.

Another section among the Whigs, under the leadership of Rockingham and Burke, advocated "Economic Reform." That is to

"Economic Reform."

say, they wished to abolish the extravagant patronage by which George maintained his majority, and give the House of Commons real control. In 1780 the universal desire for such reform was brought home to the Government by a monster petition from the freeholders of Yorkshire, supported by the majority of the counties, demanding fewer sinecure offices—offices to which salaries are attached but no work—and reduced salaries for officials. But Burke's proposals in this direction came to nothing, though in the same year Dunning carried a resolution against the Government by a majority of 18 that "the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." Another attempt of Burke in the same direction in the following year also failed. He was opposed to parliamentary reform,

North's Ministry was already tottering. Although men began to doubt, as a result of the Gordon riots, the wisdom of the far-reaching reforms proposed by the Whigs, the consuming oratory of Burke was not without effect. **Lord North resigns, March, 1782.** North had for some time been anxious to resign in face of the prevailing disorder and discontent with foreign affairs. He was not the man to be at the helm in such tempestuous waters. But George, always obstinate and short-sighted, refused to part with his Minister, although one desired war and the other peace with the American colonists. The crisis came with the surrender of Yorktown in 1781, followed closely by the loss of Minorca in 1782. In March, 1782, North resigned, to the King's undisguised chagrin, for it meant calling upon the Whigs to form a Government. The King's personal supremacy was practically at an end, and his ill-fated departmental system was giving way to the more constitutional Cabinet government which it had temporarily displaced.

On the resignation of North the Whigs took office, with Rockingham as chief. The Ministry included Charles James Fox, the ablest debater in the House of Commons, but whom George hated so much that he had had him removed from office in 1774; also the great orator Edmund Burke, who now succeeded in passing an instalment of economic reform. **Rockingham's Ministry.** (1) Many sinecure offices were abolished by which considerable sums were saved. (2) Men who held Government contracts were forbidden to sit in the House of Commons, which did away with much rampant bribery. **Instalment of Reform.** (3) Revenue officers were disfranchised, it being computed that seventy elections depended on their votes. (4) The private expenditure of the Crown was restricted. Each one of these reforms contributed to check the power of the Sovereign. But there was no overwhelming passion for reform.

Before the end of the year the death of Rockingham made Lord Shelburne Prime Minister. He was a favourite with George. A violent quarrel between Shelburne and Fox shortly before made it impossible for the latter to remain in the new Ministry. Accordingly, he and Burke resigned, personal jealousy being once more the bane of the Whigs. William Pitt, Chatham's younger son, became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Kenyon, a distinguished Welsh lawyer, Attorney-General. Broadminded and accomplished, Shelburne was not free from the

taint of intrigue and insincerity. In complete favour with the King, he was unpopular with the country, and could not be trusted. It was during his Ministry that the Preliminaries of Peace were signed at Versailles between England, France, and the United States.

Then came a startling political coalition, as monstrous as it was unprecedented. Fox and the Whigs entered into an alliance with

**Fox-North
Coalition,
1783.**

Lord North and the Tories to drive out Shelburne, and succeeded in carrying a vote of censure against the Ministry. No one had been more unsparing in his denunciation of North during his long Ministry than Fox, so that the Coalition was an outrage on political morality. Fox had once declared that if he ever came to terms with North he would deserve to be called the most infamous of men. If the unnatural alliance had any justification it was on the ground that both resented George's arbitrary assumption of power, which tended to undermine party government. Shelburne was forced to give up the seals of office in February. After an interval of thirty-seven days, the Coalition Ministry took office, with the Duke of Portland as Prime Minister. George was so bitterly annoyed with North, who, he thought, had played him false, that he treated his new Ministers with ill-concealed rudeness. Nevertheless George, Prince of Wales, a dissolute youth, gave them his support, a fact which did not raise the Ministry in public esteem. Its fall came with tragic suddenness in December; for on the rejection of Fox's India Bill, George dismissed them and sent for William Pitt. (See ante.)

Pitt was a young man of twenty-four. "An Empire trusted to a schoolboy's care," was the comment of one of his critics when Pitt

**William Pitt
the Younger,
1783-1801.**

became Prime Minister. He had not even a majority in the House of Commons. On the contrary, there stood opposed to him an imposing phalanx of skilled, adroit, eloquent political warriors, among whom were Fox, Burke and North. The dearth of competent men on his own side was so pronounced that he drew his Cabinet from the Upper House. To have taken office at all under such circumstances exhibited a daring self-confidence worthy only of a Chatham. With extraordinary tenacity he held the reins of office in face of the shafts of oratory and invective, until at last, in March, 1784, the majority against him fell to one. Feeling confident that the tide had turned in his favour, he dissolved. At the elections that followed one hundred and fifty of Fox's supporters—"Fox's martyrs," as they were called—lost their

seats, while Pitt was returned to power with a strong majority.

The triumph of the younger Pitt was a tribute to the illustrious name he bore. It was equally a tribute to the courage and dexterity

His Position and Importance. he had shown under circumstances of unusual difficulty. Moreover, the country disliked the unnatural alliance between Fox and North. Looking at the elections from the constitutional standpoint, they completely vindicated the King's right to choose his own Ministers in defiance of the Whigs, who did not again return to power till 1832. Although Pitt was a favourite with the King, his power was based on popular support. This fact reacted on George himself, who now for the first time became popular, for Pitt's wise administration naturally brought credit to his Sovereign. His ministry lasted for seventeen years. His greatness lay in finance, and his burning passion was for reform. But his lot was cast in revolutionary times, so that, instead of ushering in a new era of reform, he had to devote his talents to war. Greater in debate than in oratory, he had been trained from early boyhood for the work of a statesman. For him high office was almost an inheritance.

Pitt's first task was his India Bill. (See ante.) This was followed by an attempt to establish free trade between England and Ireland.

Pitt's Reverses, 1785. The bill was defeated, partly through the heavy oratorical artillery of Fox and Burke, who were the spokesmen of the English merchants; partly through the action of the Irish Parliament, jealous of its newly-acquired independence. He experienced another reverse on the question of parliamentary reform. He proposed to deprive a number of rotten boroughs of their right to return members, and to give additional representation to the more prosperous counties and the larger towns. The King and Burke were opposed to any such changes, though Fox supported Pitt. Nevertheless, Pitt acquiesced in his defeat, being prepared to carry on the Government as long as he retained the King's favour. He did not believe that defeat on these points justified resignation. On the other hand, it was obvious that he would not consent to be the subservient tool of George.

In his financial policy Pitt was guided by the free trade principles of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. He believed in free exchange of commodities between nations; in other words, that the Government should not interfere with trade, and only impose such duties as were necessary for purposes

Financial Reforms.

of revenue. Trade will flourish best where competition is free and exchange of goods unfettered by Government regulations. Hence his endeavour—though futile—to establish free trade between England and Ireland. On the same principles he made a commercial treaty with France, as a result of which, though the duties on many articles were reduced, trade expanded, the revenue of the country from customs duties increased, and the wealth of the country expanded

Commercial Treaty with France, 1786.

rapidly. For France now, without unnecessary restrictions, sold to Britain what France could produce better and cheaper than Britain; while Britain sold to France what Britain could produce better and cheaper than France. Likewise at home, the import duty on tea was reduced. Consequently, the price to the consumer was lowered; there was an increased demand; the revenue from the lowered duties was actually greater than from the original duties; and smuggling received a damaging blow. Indirectly, too, shipbuilding received a stimulus,

Import Duties reduced.

for a brisker foreign trade implied more ships. A few light taxes, such as the window tax, helped to swell the revenue. And Walpole's proposal to put wine and tobacco on the excise was carried out. Further, many sinecure offices at the Customs and Excise were abolished, which, while effecting considerable savings in expenditure, closed some of the

Government Loans.

avenues of parliamentary corruption. With a similar object in view Government loans were made a matter of public tenders, and not of private arrangement as had hitherto been the case. Lastly, Government accounts were audited.

The increased national revenue enabled Pitt to devise means for paying off the national debt, which had increased enormously in the last few years. With this object he established the Sinking Fund in 1786. By this scheme £1,000,000 was to be set apart every year, and invested at compound interest. With the money thus accumulated the national debt was to be paid off. However, the wars of the French Revolution completely shattered his hopes in this direction.

There were other movements with which Pitt sympathised but on behalf of which he could do but little. Chief among these were the efforts of Clarkson and Wilberforce to abolish the slave-trade. An Association had been formed for this purpose, and a bill was passed in 1788 for the

The Sinking Fund.

The Slave Trade.

better supervision of the unholy traffic. But beyond this, and a general condemnation of the traffic, little was done, although Pitt delivered in support of it, in 1792, the greatest speech of his career. In the same year Sydney was founded and our claim to Australia and New Zealand established, as a result of Captain Cook's voyages.

Towards the end of the year 1788 George III was attacked by a fit of insanity and totally incapacitated for government. It there-

**The Regency
Question,
1788.**

fore became necessary to appoint a Regent. All agreed that the Prince of Wales was the proper person for the position. The Prince, a great friend of Fox, harboured a deep grudge against Pitt, and would unquestionably bring the Ministry to an abrupt end. Pitt, therefore, brought in a Regency Bill, making the Prince of Wales Regent, but at the same time asserting that it was in the power of Parliament alone to appoint him. Fox, on the other hand, asserted that the Prince had a constitutional and inherent right to become Regent, apart from the authority of Parliament. Pitt's position was the stronger and more popular, while Fox's relations with the Prince brought him discredit. For the Prince, in spite of the Royal Marriage Act, had married secretly a Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic lady. The marriage was illegal, so that if the throne became vacant, the Prince would have been able to put her aside. The Regency bill passed through the Commons; but before it had passed the House of Lords the King recovered. The Ministry was saved; Pitt's position was considerably strengthened; while George's gratitude knew no bounds.

In this year Pitt restored our friendship with Prussia, which had been unfriendly since the Peace of Paris in 1763. In 1791 he passed the Canada Act, which divided that part of the Empire into two

provinces, Upper Canada and Lower Canada. The division was expedient because Lower Canada, with

**Canada Act,
1791.**

Quebec as capital, was mainly French; whereas Ontario and Upper Canada, whither many American colonists emigrated during the war of American independence, was predominantly English. Each had its own Governor and its own legislature. Among Pitt's other pacific measures was the settlement of a difference with Spain in 1790. The British had a colony on Nootka Sound, in Vancouver Island. The Spaniards attacked it. Pitt firmly resented the aggression, and Spain abandoned her position.

Fortunately for Pitt, unparalleled commercial prosperity favoured

his Ministry. This was due to profound industrial changes over which he himself had no control. Until the eighteenth century Britain was an agricultural country. We exported corn and there were a few woollen and cotton manufactures. The second half of the century, however, brought into being a number of inventions which converted Britain into the workshop of the world. In 1769 Arkwright invented a new spinning-machine, which completely displaced the fireside spinning-wheel in the work of spinning thread. In 1770 Hargreaves brought out his *spinning-jenny*. As a result of these inventions yarn was produced more cheaply than before, and in greater quantities. Then came Cartwright's *power-loom*, which enabled the yarn to be woven into cloth as rapidly as the yarn could be spun. The genius of Watt improved the steam-engine. Soon steam displaced water-power in driving machinery. The demand for machinery increased, and consequently the demand for iron. Previously iron had been smelted by means of charcoal: it was now discovered that pit-coal could be used for the purpose; and fortunately coal and iron were found together in England and Wales. It was in these districts, therefore, that the manufactures congregated: the cotton industry in Lancashire and the woollen in Yorkshire. The immense impetus given to trade led to a demand for better means of communication: canals were made, and a better system of roads came into being.

These improvements completely revolutionised the conditions of labour and industry in Britain. Huge fortunes were made; Britain became the wealthiest country in Europe, for she enjoyed a monopoly in these inventions for many years. Goods were produced in larger quantities at less comparative cost. There was a great demand for British goods on the Continent. Its wealth enabled Britain to bear the enormous cost of her recent wars, as well as of the wars of the French Revolution now at hand.

This rude severance with the past, the change from agriculture to manufacture, involved a great displacement of labour. The agricultural labourers were hard hit by the new inventions. Their earnings by tilling the soil had hitherto been supplemented by the earnings of their wives and daughters at the spinning-wheel. When new machinery superseded the spinning-wheel, the labourer and small farmer found it impossible

The Industrial Revolution.

Results (1) Wealth of the Country.

(2) Displacement of Labour.

to make a living on the land. They therefore left for the factories and the "works."

The work of spinning and weaving, which had previously been done at home, was now done in factories and workshops which employed a large number of labourers. Around these
(3) The factories there grew up large towns such as Birmingham and Sheffield. Many of the employers were
Factories. hard, rough men. The workmen were badly housed; they received poor wages; and if they demanded higher wages there were others who could take their places. Women and children were employed and had to work as hard as the men. It was not uncommon for a child of nine years of age to work eighteen hours a day. Thus, although the country advanced in wealth and prosperity by this industrial revolution, the lot of the worker was extremely wretched.

CHIEF DATES.

Peace of Paris	1763
Stamp Act	1765
American War of Independence	1775-1783
Declaration of American Independence	1776
Saratoga	1777
Yorktown	1781
Rodney's Victory over De Grasse	1782
Treaty of Versailles	1783
Pitt's India Bill	1784
Sydney founded	1788

NOTES.

1. The Ministries of —
 - (a) Lord Bute, 1762-1763.
 1762. War with Spain.
 1763. Treaty of Paris.
 - (b) George Grenville, 1763-1765.
 - The Wilkes affair. The popularity of Wilkes rested on the fact that he represented the freedom of the press, and the cause of parliamentary reform. His private character was bad.
 1765. The Stamp Act.
 - (c) Lord Rockingham, 1765-1766.
 - (i) Repeal of Stamp Act.
 - (ii) Note the influence of Edmund Burke.
 - (d) Chatham-Grafton, 1766-1770.
 - (i) Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, imposes taxes on the American colonists. Chatham resigns (1768).
 - (ii) Wilkes again.
 - (iii) Letters of Junius (1769).

- (e) Lord North, 1770–1782.
 1771. Publication of Debates.
 1772. Royal Marriage Act.
 1773. North's Regulating Act. Warren Hastings.
 1778. Catholic Relief Act.
 1780. Gordon Riots.
 1775–1783. American War of Independence. Lord North and George III lost us the American colonies.
- (f) Rockingham, 1782.
- (g) Shelburne, 1782–1783. William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Instalment of reform.
- (h) Fox–North Coalition, 1783 (April–December).
- (j) William Pitt, 1783–1801.
 1786. Commercial Treaty with France. Import duties reduced. The Sinking Fund.
 1788. Regency Question.
 1791. Canada Act. Wars of the French Revolution.
2. The Wars of American Independence, 1775–1783.
 The thirteen colonies were: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Delaware.
 Note the following causes :—
 (i) American trade restricted by English Navigation Acts.
 (ii) Grenville's Stamp Act. Note objections of the colonists.
 (iii) Townshend's customs duties (1767).
 (iv) The Boston tea-party (1773).
 1774. Congress at Philadelphia.
 1775. Lexington and Bunker's Hill.
 1776. Declaration of Independence. United States established.
 1777. Brandywine Creek. Capitulation of Saratoga.
- Second phase of the war, 1778–1783.
 France recognises the United States as a sovereign power and forms an alliance with it. Spain (1779) and Holland (1780) join against Britain. The armed neutrality increased Britain's difficulties.
 1780. Admiral Rodney's victory over Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent relieves Gibraltar.
 1781. Lord Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown.
 1779–1782. Gibraltar blockaded.
 1782. Victory of Rodney over De Grasse. Jamaica saved.
 1783. Peace of Versailles.
- The attitude of (i) Chatham, (ii) Burke, (iii) Fox, is important.
3. India.
 (A) Warren Hastings, 1773–1785. Chief points :—
 (i) As Governor of Bengal, the Rohilla War, which immensely increased our influence in Oudh.
 (ii) 1773. North's Regulating Act made him the first Governor-General of India (British territory). He established our rule in India on a firm basis.

- (iii) War against Hyder Ali, ruler of Mysore. Cuddalore (1781); Pollilore (1781); Arnee (1782).
- (iv) The Maratha War, strengthening British authority in Central India.
- (v) His relations with the Rajah of Benares and the Begums of Oudh.
- (vi) Pitt's India Bill (1784) gives the Government at home first real power in India. Next year Hastings returns to England.
- (vii) His trial (1788–1795), and acquittal.

(B) Lord Cornwallis, 1786–1793.

First Governor-General under Pitt's new system.

- (i) Reformed the Civil Service and land revenue of India.
 - (ii) War with Tippoo Sahib, 1789–1792.
- Large part of Mysore ceded to Britain.

4. Fox, Charles James.

One of the most transcendent orators that have sat in Parliament. A strong opponent of North's policy towards the American colonists, he provoked the embittered hostility of George III.

1782. Foreign Secretary in Rockingham's administration. Retired in 1783, when Shelburne became Prime Minister.

1783. The Fox-North Coalition Ministry. Note his India Bill.

1783–1806. Prominent as the chief opponent of Pitt. "Wherever he saw what he believed to be oppression, he took part with the oppressed—the American, the Irishman, the negro slave."

1789. Sympathised with the French Revolution, and so broke with his friend Burke.

1806. Foreign Secretary in Grenville's Ministry. Died the same year.

Note the frenzied hostility of George III.

5. Edmund Burke.

One of our greatest orators and writers.

- (i) Opposed North's American policy with Fox.
- (ii) Paymaster of the Forces in Rockingham's Ministry (1782).
- (iii) Note his efforts for economic reform.
- (iv) *Reflections on the French Revolution*.

Unlike Fox, he opposed the French Revolution.

6. Grattan's Parliament.

This name was given to the Irish Parliament during the period of Irish legislative independence, 1782–1800.

- (i) Its establishment was to a large extent due to the pressure put upon the Government by the Irish volunteers at a time when so many dangers threatened Britain. It should also be noticed that Fox and Burke were in sympathy with the demands of Ireland, and had great influence.
- (ii) It came to an end with the Act of Union in 1800, due to :—
 - (a) Its independence was legislative only, and not administrative; so that disputes continually arose between the authorities at Dublin and Westminster.

(b) It represented the Protestant minority only.

(c) Fear of French influence.

(d) The Rebellion of 1798.

7. Why Pitt triumphed at the General Election, 1784.

(i) The country was sick of the jobbery and intrigues of the Whigs.

(ii) Loss of American colonies.

(iii) Disasters against France and Spain.

(iv) Inability of the Whigs to maintain order at home, e.g. the Gordon Riots, 1780.

(v) The forced cession of an independent Parliament to Ireland.

(vi) The hope that young Pitt would imitate Chatham and raise Britain from her humiliation.

8. The Industrial Revolution.

It is important to distinguish its two aspects:—

(a) The Agricultural. The increased demand for agricultural produce led to a considerable amount of "enclosure"; that is, the process by which neighbouring landlords "enclosed" or appropriated land which was common property, and on which the peasants had been accustomed to graze their cattle. The process began in 1760. The peasants were consequently impoverished further to enrich the landlords, and pauperism increased enormously. Also the yeomen or smaller freehold farmers found it impossible to compete with the large landholders, and had to sell their lands. Hitherto the small farmer had been self-supporting, his agricultural produce and the domestic manufacture combining to make him independent. But now the capitalist system begins to hold sway in agriculture as in the manufacturing industry, in which large landed employers control the output of agricultural produce, and employ swarms of agricultural labourers. With the large capital at their disposal they were able to introduce extensive improvements. They were further benefited by Corn Laws first passed in 1773.

(b) The Factory System. Note:—

(i) Inventions and discoveries, with results.

(ii) Improvements in means of communication.

Turnpikes are erected, the tolls levied being applied to pay for better made roads. Bridges replace ferry-boats. Tramways come into vogue for the first time. Canals are made, and rivers are made more navigable.

(iii) Growth of cotton trade, which becomes the rival of the woollen trade. The work being done in factories leads to the growth of towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire. The miserable condition of the workers leads to factory laws and trades unions.

CHAPTER V

GEORGE III (PART II)

THE WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789-1820

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS :—

France. Louis XVI (1774-1792).
Republic (1792-1799).
Consulate (1799-1804).
Napoleon I (1804-1814).
Louis XVIII (1814-1824).

Spain. Charles IV (1788-1808).
Ferdinand VII (1808).
Joseph Buonaparte (1808-1813).
Ferdinand VII (1813-1833).

Prussia. Frederick William II (1786-1797).
Frederick William III (1797-1840).

The French Revolution—Causes—Why Britain went to War—Attitude of Fox, Burke and Pitt—Repressive Measures—The First Coalition—Nelson—Napoleon Buonaparte—Second Coalition—Peace of Amiens—Ireland—Act of Union—Pitt's resignation—India—Third Coalition—Trafalgar—Death of Pitt—Continental System—Peninsula War—Picton—American War—Hundred Days—Waterloo—Holy Alliance—Discontent at Home.

THE French Revolution is in many ways the greatest epoch in history. The rough uncertainty and turbulence of the Middle

Ages made necessary a close bond of union between
The French Revolution. lord and peasant: the latter was guaranteed a secure livelihood; the former obtained cultivators of the

soil. Since then new conditions had arisen, and a new middle class—merchants and lawyers—had come into existence. England, though with many crude defects in her social system, had divested herself of the shackles of feudalism. Not so the rest of Europe. In France, for example, the oppressive burdens on the peasant remained, making his lot one of leaden despair. The intelligent and prosperous middle classes were debarred from all rank and privilege, which remained the birthright of an effete nobility—

the aristocrats. The Revolution was a tremendous revolt against this organised privilege and oppression.

The French peasant was in a wretched plight. He worked on the lord's farm; ground his corn at the lord's mill; mended the roads at his own expense; paid the bulk of the taxes.

Causes.

Out of every hundred shillings that he earned it was calculated that he paid fifty-three to the state, fourteen to the clergy, fourteen to his lord. He had to live on the remaining nineteen. He had no security for his crop, which was preyed upon and often devoured by the lord's game. The privileged classes, the nobles and higher clergy, paid little or no taxation. They alone could hold office; only aristocrats could be even sub-lieutenants in the army; in the church, a man who was not of noble birth could not become anything more than a parish priest, whose lot was little better than that of the wretched peasants to whom he ministered. These aristocrats lived on the toil of a starving peasantry. Trade was strangled by prohibitive dues placed upon goods passing from one province to another. The court was extravagant, licentious. The Government was despotic. The finances were in a state of chaos. Since the days of Louis XIV France had engaged in expensive wars which left her an exhausted exchequer. National bankruptcy was imminent.

French writers like Voltaire and Rousseau had preached with passionate eloquence against unreasonable authority, and in favour of liberty, equality, and the rights of man. What was even more effective, sons of France returned from the American War with a practical illustration of what liberty and reasonable authority meant. Thus the train of revolution was laid.

Ideas of Liberty.

Though France was pursuing its headlong course to bankruptcy, nothing could prevail upon the privileged classes to bear their share of taxation. Louis XVI was therefore persuaded to summon the States-General, May 5, 1789, at Versailles. The States-General corresponded to the British Parliament. It had not met since 1614, so that reform had been stemmed for two centuries. The States-General sat in three Houses, the Nobility, Clergy, and Commons—the *tiers état*,—each deliberating apart. It was therefore possible for the two privileged classes to outvote the Commons, or "third estate," although they might be fewer in point of numbers. Consequently

The States-General, May, 1789.

the Commons refused to deliberate unless the three orders sat together. They enforced their demand, and the one assembly was called the National Assembly. It immediately entered upon its work.

At one fell swoop all privileges were swept aside. A new social and political structure was set up. The Paris mob got beyond control, and in July stormed the Bastille, a state prison resembling the Tower of London. This defiance of authority was a signal. Everywhere the peasants rose against their lords. The castles of the aristocrats were fired; churches were pillaged; everywhere the sky was red with the flare of burning ruins, the swift destructive vengeance for the oppression of centuries. Meanwhile the Assembly confiscated the lands of the Church, and abolished all titles of nobility. Many of the nobles left the country. In 1791 the King and Queen tried to escape, failed, and were captured. Henceforth they were virtually prisoners of the Paris mob.

The National Assembly, in spite of its good intentions, showed much incapacity for government. Before it dissolved, in 1791, it passed a foolish law which debarred its members from being re-elected to the new Assembly. The control of affairs therefore fell into the inexperienced hands of extreme Republicans, and later of violent revolutionaries such as the Jacobins, whose leaders, Robespierre and Danton, were completely under the influence of the Paris mob. The emigrant nobles, the *émigrés*, were gathering on the borders of France. They had implored Austria and Prussia to assist in restoring them their privileges. In September, a royalist rising being suspected in Paris, the Tuileries, the royal palace, was stormed: Louis XVI was deposed; France was declared a Republic; hundreds of aristocrats were sent to the guillotine. These were the September Massacres. The next two years was a Reign of Terror. In January, 1793, the bloody work culminated in the execution of Louis himself; and a little later his Queen, Marie Antoinette, bared her neck for the knife.

France had already declared war against her enemies. The remorseless fanaticism of the Government at Paris was reflected in the fierce daring of the armies on the frontiers. Her generals had one alternative to success—the guillotine. After a few reverses the vitality and

**Storming of
The Bastille,
July.**

**September
Massacres,
1792.**

**France at
War.**

might of the young Republic became overwhelming. At the Cannonade of Valmy, September, 1792, the Prussians were defeated. Belgium was overrun; Holland was threatened. Soon the boundaries of France were extended to the Rhine and the Alps. In defiance of many treaties, the Scheldt was opened for navigation. This struck at Holland, with whom rested the control of the Scheldt, and also at Britain, which had agreed to defend the treaties. This was not all. The Republic proclaimed that she would assist peoples that revolted against their rulers, thus avowing herself the abettor of revolutionary movements in every land. Britain could not now look on with indifference.

The first news of the Revolution was received in England with sympathy mingled with joy. It was thought that Frenchmen at last had dared to imitate the deeds of seventeenth century Englishmen, by shuffling off the fetters of despotic rule with the view to establishing a constitutional monarchy like that of Britain. They did not realise the tremendous significance of the upheaval: that it was primarily a social revolt against oppression and privilege, not a political revolution. When the true meaning of events became

(i) **Fox.** manifest, the conservative instinct of the bulk of the nation recoiled from it as a thing calculated to wreck the whole social fabric. A small minority, especially the industrial centres, where disaffection was rampant, took courage and advocated reforms with greater zeal. Of eminent British statesmen Fox regarded the objects of the revolutionaries with sympathy and admiration. Of the taking of the Bastille he said "How much the greatest event it is that has happened in the world, how much the best!" When England entered on war with France in 1793 he denounced it. In this attitude he failed to carry with him the majority of the Whigs. It also led to a breach with his former friend Burke, whose hostility to Fox was violent and unworthy.

Burke's attitude was one of unmitigated condemnation. In 1790 he issued a pamphlet entitled "Reflections on the French Revolution," which had an enormous sale. He condemned its lawlessness, its violation of the rights of property, and its abrupt breach with the past social order. With great prophetic vision he foresaw the rise of a military despotism, which alone could re-establish order and security. His were the views which gave its tone to English opinion, which, quite unmind-

ful of the essentially different conditions prevailing in England and France, opposed everything new as savouring of anarchy. Burke strongly advocated war, preaching it as a crusade against the unholy doctrines of the Revolution.

Pitt, like Fox, at first had a mistaken conception of the trend of events. Gradually, he came to think like Burke, though his

view was more practical. He saw no cause for anxiety
(iii) **Pitt.** in an attempt to destroy the privileges of the aristocrats and set up a limited monarchy. He made every endeavour

severely to hold aloof from France's internal troubles. But the fear that revolutionary ideas might poison the minds of the British people, and the declaration of war by France in 1793, convinced him, in spite of his sincere desire for peace, that Britain must be drawn into the whirlpool. Even then he grasped at every straw that might avert war. When that was no longer possible, his reforming and financial proposals were thrown to the winds, although he thought that a few campaigns would end the unfortunate business. "It will be long and dangerous," said Burke, with truer insight.

The temper of Pitt's Government soon left no room for doubt. As early as 1790 Fox's motion to remove the disabilities of Non-conformists by repealing the Test and Corporation

Repressive Measures. Acts was negatived by an overwhelming majority.

In actual practice it mattered little so long as the annual Indemnity Act was passed. Next year in Birmingham the mob wrecked the house of Dr. Priestley, who had arranged to celebrate the taking of the Bastille. Thomas Paine, who made bold to reply to Burke's "Reflections" in a pamphlet on the "Rights of Man," had his writings condemned as seditious. Then followed in rapid succession a series of preventive measures which threw into relief Pitt's hitherto liberal tendencies. A policy of reform would be too hazardous when 3,000 daggers had just been discovered at Birmingham, one of which Burke threw on the floor of the House of Commons. In 1793 he passed a Traitorous Correspondence Act. The same year an Alien Act made it possible to shadow foreigners and expel them if found guilty of disseminating revolutionary ideas. A few revolutionaries were actually transported. Then, in 1794, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. In 1795 the King was shot at and his coach wrecked. This was followed by a Treasonable Practices Bill and a Seditious Meetings

Bill, while a motion for parliamentary reform was rejected. Though stringent, Pitt's policy certainly did not become vindictive, nor did it prevent him joining hands with Fox in passing a Libel Act, which made it the province of a jury, no longer that of the judge, to declare what was libellous. In fact, the country was more forward than Pitt in urging forward repressive measures.

In 1793, soon after the execution of Louis XVI, England joined Austria, Prussia, Spain and Holland in the First Coalition to check the reckless aggression of France. Pitt's principles of war were those of his father Chatham: to control the sea and subsidise the allies on land. But whereas

**Pitt at War,
1793-1801.**

Chatham was great as a war minister, the son's genius would have preferred an atmosphere of peace and reform. That the British navy should hold its supremacy at sea was of the highest importance. But Pitt also embarked on land operations which, without exception, ended in failure. In part, this was due to the terrible

**The First
Coalition,
1793.**

inefficiency of the French generals, during the Reign of Terror (1793-1795); in part, too, to the fact that no captain of marked capacity appeared in the ranks of the allies. And Pitt was not gifted for war. An expedition was sent to Holland under the Duke of York, the King's second son, which ended in defeat (1793). Troops were sent to Toulon to assist the Royalists there. They were dislodged by the skill and dash of Napoleon Buonaparte, a young Corsican officer of artillery,

**(i) Operations
on Land.**

the British fleet which had entered the harbour being compelled to retire after destroying some French vessels. No better success attended a land expedition to assist the Royalists in La Vendée; while an expedition to Quiberon Bay, with a similar object, proved equally fruitless. Nothing could stem the boundless energy of the Republic. By 1795 the Rhine became the boundary of France on the north-east. Still more ominous, the Coalition was already crumbling to pieces; Spain had retired; and Holland had no choice in the matter, for France already dictated her course.

A brighter tale came from the sea. On the "glorious first of June," 1794, Lord Howe won a signal victory over the Brest squadron off Ushant. A number of French provision

(ii) On Sea.

ships were making for Brest under the escort of part of the fleet when they came into collision with Howe, who captured a few ships of the line, disabled several others, and sent

one to the deep, its crew facing death bravely with shouts of *Vive la République*.

Next year (1795) war having been declared against the Dutch, Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope were captured, and the commerce of Holland crippled. Nevertheless, with the fleets of Spain and Holland arrayed on her side, France held the advantage in point of numerical strength. She made daring use of it. An expedition to Ireland was planned, it being hoped that that country, richly manured by the grievances of centuries, would prove a fruitful soil for revolutionary ideas. The French admiral Hoche, having eluded the British fleet, was overcome by a storm which scattered his ships. A few reached Bantry Bay, without result. The same year a strong detachment of French soldiers actually landed at Fishguard, and spread terror in West Wales. The Pembrokeshire militia was called out. Next day the French surrendered.

In fact, it was becoming abundantly clear that an invasion of England was not impossible. Such fears were soon dispelled.

Cape St. Vincent, Feb., 1797. Sir John Jervis and Commodore Nelson, in command of the Mediterranean fleet, were cruising off the coast of Portugal, when, off Cape St. Vincent, they intercepted the Spanish fleet on its way to Cadiz. Jervis had fifteen men of war, the Spaniards twenty-seven. Attacking each of the two divisions of the enemy's fleet in succession Jervis and Nelson won a magnificent victory, due mainly to the dazzling audacity of Nelson, who did not scruple to disobey his superior's orders when such a course appeared to him to be a condition of success.

A few weeks later Britain passed through a dangerous crisis. First came a mutiny of the crews of the Channel fleet at Spithead.

Mutiny at Spithead, April. The sailors demanded better pay, asserted that in spite of the great advance in the cost of living, their wages had not been raised, and hoisted the red flag of revolution. There were other just grievances—unwholesome food, and the cold, cruel tyranny of callous superiors. In fact their complaints were considered fair and genuine, and were redressed. This danger therefore passed by, Lord Howe, who was popularly called "Black Dick," persuading the men to return to their posts.

In May there was another explosion of disaffection, this time

in the North Sea fleet at Sheerness. It was the more dangerous in

Mutiny at the Nore, May-June. that the grievances of the mutineers were more subtle, being due to the spread of revolutionary ideas. Admiral Duncan's fleet, then blockading Holland, joined the rebels with the exception of two ships. Fortunately by continuing to signal, Duncan deceived the Dutch into believing that a powerful squadron was at hand. The leaders of the mutineers having been executed the crews returned to their duties. Neither the

Camperdown, October.

Dutch nor the French knew how grave and vulnerable was our condition. Later in the year, when the call of duty summoned these crews to battle, they responded with true British hearts, and the darkest year in our history closed with a triumph. This was off Camperdown. The Dutch fleet having sailed into the open, Duncan offered battle and crushed it. The immense advantage which had accrued to France by the accession of the Spanish and Dutch fleets to her strength had been completely annihilated. Cape St. Vincent had crippled Spain, Camperdown the Dutch. The commerce of both passed irrevocably to the merchants of Britain. The same year we took Trinidad from Spain.

The previous year Pitt had made futile efforts to bring about peace. His efforts were renewed in 1797. He was actuated partly

Overtures for Peace, 1796-1797.

by the terrible distress which prevailed in England. Food was dear; and its cost was increasing. Within a generation wheat had risen from 50s. a quarter to 128s. a quarter in 1801; while wages, as was the case with the pay of the sailors at Spithead, had remained stationary. Moreover, the war, involving as it did large subsidies to the allies, drained the country of its gold; while many people, in their dread of a French invasion, hoarded their wealth. The Bank of England, threatened with ruin, suspended cash payments. This financial crisis

Distress.

might have ended in panic had not the Government authorised the Bank to issue bank-notes, to be circulated instead of gold. Under the stress the British people acted with coolness, convinced that the Bank, with the Government at its back, would redeem its obligations in cash. For the present

The Financial Crisis.

France was not faced with the same difficulty. Early in the Revolution she had repudiated all her debts, and she now met her war expenditure by confiscating the property of the Church and the nobility.

Pitt's overtures for peace were met by a flat refusal by France, for no Government in Paris could hope to remain in power at the time unless it could point to victories in the field.

Napoleon Buonaparte. Also, the French were dazzled by the splendour of Buonaparte's campaigns in Italy. To a nation intoxicated by military triumphs peace seemed insipid, and the negotiations had fallen through before Camperdown was fought. The better to understand these events, we must return to the affairs of France. We have seen how, during the Reign of Terror, the Jacobins, led by Danton and Robespierre, were supreme. In 1794 these cruel fanatics quarrelled among themselves. In April Danton was sent to the guillotine, whither so many of his own victims had preceded him. Robespierre followed him in July. These were the men who "coined money by the guillotine." Then a more moderate government was set up, the Directory—a board of five Directors. To stamp out mob rule they appealed to the young Corsican, Napoleon Buonaparte, who had distinguished himself at Toulon. The mob cowered. Buonaparte then became general of the French army in Italy. There, in 1796, he covered himself with glory. Next year he compelled Austria to sign the Peace of Campo Formio, which made Holland, Switzerland, and North Italy—the Cisalpine Republic—into Republics dependent upon France, France herself retaining Savoy, Nice, and the Rhine Provinces. The First Coalition was at an end. England stood alone.

Buonaparte's imagination was now haunted by visions of eastern conquest, such as that of Alexander the Great. He must conquer

Napoleon in Egypt, 1798. Egypt and Syria, whence the road to India would be open. Or he might return by Syria and set up a vast Empire in the Mediterranean, like that of ancient Rome. They were but dreams. To hide his plans, troops were concentrated on the northern coasts of France, as though for an invasion of England. Meanwhile his army was getting ready to embark at Toulon. Jervis having received intelligence of his real object, sent Nelson to the Mediterranean. Buonaparte set sail before Nelson arrived. Having seized Malta—a valuable naval base—on his way, he landed at Alexandria, overwhelmed the Mamelukes, as the rulers of Egypt were called, at the Battle of the Pyramids, and occupied Egypt. He incited Tippoo Sahib of Mysore to overthrow British rule in India; but Tippoo's pre-

tensions were cut short. In 1799, as we shall see, the Marquis Wellesley stormed his capital, Seringapatam.

Divining Napoleon's purpose, Nelson had sailed immediately for Egypt. On August 1, he discovered his prey in Aboukir Bay,

**Battle of
"The Nile"
or "Aboukir
Bay," August
1, 1798.**

drawn up in the form of a crescent not far from the shore. By a piece of naval strategy as daring as it was brilliant, Nelson sent five of his ships between the French line and the shore. These battered the enemy from one side, his other ships meanwhile attacking from the other. The manœuvre was crowned with success. The battle raged furiously through the night. The French flagship, the *Orient*, caught fire, which reached her powder magazine, with appalling results. All the French ships except four were captured or sunk; Buonaparte's eastern schemes were exploded; his army was shut up in Egypt. Further, the victory brought into existence the Second Coalition.

To complete the tale of the expedition. Buonaparte passed into Syria and besieged Acre. Here, the timely assistance which

**Sir Sidney
Smith.** Sir Sidney Smith brought to the Turks, who were defending the citadel, compelled the French to raise

the siege. "That man" said Napoleon, "made me miss my destiny." Having crushed the Turks once more, Buonaparte left for Egypt, where the French held their own for eighteen months longer. In March, 1801, Abercrombie defeated them at Aboukir, a victory which cost him his life. In August the whole French army was forced to capitulate.

Early in 1799 Great Britain had been joined by Austria and Russia in the Second Coalition. For some time the allies were

**Second
Coalition,
1799.**

completely successful. Acre defied Buonaparte. His army was shut up in Egypt and Syria. The French were defeated in Italy. The Duke of York took command of an expedition which captured the Dutch fleet, although he was afterwards defeated at Bergen and forced to sign a convention which left France free from danger. In this gloomy prospect Buonaparte saw his opportunity and seized it. Leaving his army in Egypt to its fate, he sailed for France in a fast cruiser, barely escaping capture by an English flotilla. He reached Paris in October, 1799. Early in November, by a *coup d'état*, he seized the reins of government, set up a new constitution instead of the Directory, and had himself made First Consul. What Burke had

foretold, that the Revolution would end in a military despotism, was verified.

The new Government at Paris renewed overtures for peace. But Britain had well-founded reasons for distrusting the genuineness of such professions from France, while Grenville's reply was couched in supercilious language which courted refusal. Therefore war continued. In June, 1800, Buonaparte appeared in the rich plains of northern Italy, where his movements were as swift as his blows were crushing. The same month he met the Austrians at Marengo and scattered them. In December Moreau, another of the galaxy of French generals, inflicted upon them so decisive a defeat at Hohenlinden that the Austrians were driven to sign a humiliating treaty at Lunéville. Russia had already withdrawn from the Coalition. Britain was isolated once more.

This was followed by another grave peril. Goaded by France and Russia, the Powers of the Baltic, Sweden and Denmark, together with Prussia, formed an Armed Neutrality similar to that of 1780. Britain claimed, and, being mistress of the ocean she could enforce her claim, to search neutral ships for contraband of war. She wished effectively to stop all trade with France. The ostensible object of the Armed Neutrality was to compel Britain to withdraw such extravagant claims. It needed no extraordinary penetration to see that the real object of Buonaparte was to utilise the fleets of the Baltic to

destroy the naval preponderance of the arch-enemy that alone could stay his hand. Therefore Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson sailed for the Baltic. Entering the harbour of Copenhagen, Nelson collided with the Danish fleet. A fierce fight ensued. Nelson, having taken his ships within the zone of danger from the land batteries, was signalled to withdraw from action. Putting his telescope to his blind eye he exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal. Keep mine for closer battle flying. That is the way I answer such signals." His victory was complete. The Danish fleet surrendered. Sweden discreetly abandoned her hostile attitude to Britain. The Czar of Russia was assassinated and was succeeded by Alexander I, who was less subservient to France. The Armed Neutrality was at an end.

It was obvious that Britain was invulnerable on sea. It was

equally obvious that Napoleon was invulnerable on land. It also suited that restless genius to have a short truce which would enable him to recuperate. His schemes of aggression and conquest were as yet only in bud. On her part Britain was alone, and burdened with heavy taxation. Peace was therefore concluded at Amiens in March, 1802. Britain showed her genuine desire for a durable peace by recognising the Republic, abandoning her conquests from France, and restoring the Cape of Good Hope to the Dutch. She kept Ceylon and Trinidad. Malta, which had been recaptured from the French, was to be restored to the Knights of St. John, from whom it had been taken. The British, meanwhile, remained in possession. This peace was concluded by the Addington Ministry, Pitt having resigned the previous year on the question of Catholic Emancipation.

Since 1782 Ireland, owing to the forceful oratory of Grattan and Henry Flood, had had an independent Parliament. But as Protestants only were eligible for election, it could not be said to represent the people of Ireland, three-fourths of whom were Catholics, who had not even the right to vote. To remove this latter disability, a Catholic Relief Act was passed in 1793. It was the policy of Grattan, supported by Pitt at Westminster, to proceed gradually to the complete removal of Catholic disabilities, which would enable Catholics to take office and sit side by side with the Protestants in the Irish Parliament. In this attitude he received the support of the more liberal-minded among the Protestants of Ulster. In 1794 Pitt sent over Lord Fitzwilliam as Lord-Lieutenant. He took a statesmanlike view of the Irish problem, and moved in the direction of Catholic Emancipation; that is, the repeal of the iniquitous laws which were tyrannously imposed upon three-fourths of the people for the benefit of the remaining one-fourth. The moment was unpropitious, on account of the war and the inane hostility of George. Yet, with disastrous indiscretion, Fitzwilliam encouraged the Catholics in the hope of immediate reform. Next year he was recalled.

Fitzwilliam's failure had been due partly to the selfish and malicious temper of the Orangemen, as the Protestants of Ulster were called in honour of William of Orange. This gross rebuff to the Catholics had a twofold result. It fanned into a revolutionary flame the ardent zeal of the Society of United Irishmen. This society

**Peace of
Amiens, 1802.**

**Grattan's
Parliament,
1782-1800.**

**The Society
of United
Irishmen,
1791.**

had been formed in 1791 by Wolfe Tone, with the object of uniting Irishmen of all classes in a common demand for Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform. It showed unqualified sympathy with the French Revolution, and aimed at making Ireland a Republic like France, independent of England. With this object Wolfe Tone crossed over to France to seek assistance. Secondly, the proposals of the society caught the vivid imagination of an uneducated Catholic peasantry, oppressed and impoverished by alien landlords, and only too ready to carry the torch of revolution if that implied emancipation from an English Protestant Government.

In December, 1796, a French expedition under Hoche invaded Ireland, but it came to nothing. Next year the Government placed the north under martial law, and employed

**The Irish
Rebellion of
'98.**

Orangemen in making a systematic search for firearms among the Catholics, a task which was carried out

with hideous severity. In 1798 there was an appalling conflagration. The leaders of the revolutionary party were placed under arrest, Lord Edward FitzGerald being mortally wounded in a desperate attempt to resist his captors. Then the Irish of the south-east rose in arms and encamped on Vinegar Hill, near Wexford. After a stubborn battle General Lake stormed the hill; the rebels

**Vinegar Hill,
June.**

dispersed. The murders and roastings by the Catholics before their defeat were only equalled by the brutalities, the scourging and the hanging by the

victors. In August another French expedition landed in Connaught and met with slight success at Castlebar. Too late to be of any real assistance, it surrendered to Lord Cornwallis, the new Lord-Lieutenant. Shortly afterwards another French flotilla appeared and was scattered. Wolfe Tone was on board. He was taken prisoner, condemned, but escaped a traitor's death by committing suicide.

These unhappy events convinced Lord Cornwallis that the only solution of the Irish difficulty lay in merging the two Parliaments.

**The Act
of Union,
1800.**

The Irish Parliament, wholly Protestant, was too selfish in the enjoyment of its privileges to admit the Catholics to full political rights. On the other

hand, there was well-founded fear that vindictive oppression would follow complete enfranchisement, for then the Catholics would be in a majority. Hence the proposal for a united Parliament at

Westminster, with which Pitt agreed. The Bill passed the British Parliament without difficulty. Pitt intended it to be but the preliminary of a comprehensive scheme for the settlement of the Irish difficulty, which was to be followed immediately by a measure for Catholic Emancipation. It was the Orangemen that now displayed the most unpatriotic and frenzied hostility, under the guidance of Grattan. They were the real rulers of Ireland, and the Bill would deprive them of their position of privilege. However, their resistance was overcome by an elaborate exercise of unblushing, hideous corruption, in which Castlereagh, the Chief Secretary, played his part without remorse. The owners of rotten boroughs were bought over. It rained pensions and peerages.

The United Kingdom.

Degradation was the lot of those who opposed. Such was the system of the day. The bill therefore passed the Irish Parliament and became law. Ireland was to have a hundred members in the House of Commons with twenty-eight life peers and four Bishops in the House of Lords. There was to be free trade between the two countries. In taxation Ireland was to contribute two pounds for every fifteen pounds paid by England. Irish peers were eligible for the House of Commons. There was still to be a separate executive government under the Lord-Lieutenant.

Early in 1801 the first Parliament of the United Kingdom met at Westminster. Pitt now proposed to proceed with his proposal for Catholic Emancipation. George protested, saying, "I shall reckon any man my enemy who proposes such a measure." He was violently hostile to its proposals, wrongly thinking that to give his assent would be a violation of his coronation oath. The excitement drove him into another fit of insanity, and Pitt agreed not to raise the question again. He had no alternative but to resign, whereupon Addington formed a ministry. This gross and dishonourable transaction alienated the Irish Catholics irretrievably. Once more they settled down to a state of gloomy, dismal despair.

Pitt's Resignation, 1801.

We have seen that in conquering Egypt Napoleon hoped to make his way to India and overthrow British power there. He found an ally in Tippoo Sahib of Mysore, the son of that Hyder Ali who had struggled against Warren Hastings. The Governor-General now was Marquis Wellesley (at

India.

this time Lord Mornington), the elder brother of Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. The alliance between Tippoo and the French led to an invasion of his territory by General Harris. Tippoo was slain; Seringapatam, his capital, was taken; British influence was made secure in southern India.

During the fighting Sir Arthur Wellesley had won fame. Immediate events enhanced his reputation. Amid so much confusion

**Marquis
Wellesley.**

and misconduct it was imperative that Britain should wield supreme control. Now it was the policy of the Governor-General to have at each native court

a British representative who would control its foreign policy, leaving internal affairs to the native princes themselves. This was to be done by "subsidiary treaties" with individual native states. This policy was resented by the warlike Mahrattas, who

**The Maratha
War.
Assaye, 1803.**

controlled central India. War therefore ensued. Sir

Arthur Wellesley attacked from the south, defeating the natives decisively at Assaye and Argaum. Meanwhile General Lake, coming from the north-east, won the battle of Laswaree. The Mahrattas were forced to conclude subsidiary treaties which brought the greater part of India under British sway. Further, the Great Mogul at Delhi, who had been in the grip of the Mahrattas, was now set free from their domination, and came to an agreement with the East India Company, which gave the British predominant influence in the whole of the valley of the Ganges. The Company had no liking for this policy of aggression on the part of Wellesley, which gave them three-fourths of India to rule. It involved too great expenditure and anxiety. Wellesley was therefore recalled in 1805, but not before he had left an indelible mark on British rule in India. What Clive and Warren Hastings had established, and Lord Cornwallis consolidated, Wellesley considerably extended.

There was never any genuine intention on the part of Buonaparte to keep the Peace of Amiens. The rebuff he had sustained in Egypt

**Renewal of
War, 1803.**

rankled and called for vengeance. It was perfectly obvious that the supremacy of Britain over the waves must come to an end if he would rule unchallenged

in Europe. And lastly, he must satisfy his unquenchable thirst for military glory. Thus, while peace nominally reigned, he perpetrated acts of systematic aggression. He compelled Holland to shut out British goods; he annexed Piedmont; he sent his

soldiers to occupy Switzerland; he even sent spies to England to report on the feasibility of an invasion, and the shadow of it hung over the country for some years. In spite of all this, he had the profound audacity to ask Britain to evacuate Malta, a position of vast strategic importance, which she had agreed to restore to the Knights of St. John. He also demanded the expulsion of French emigrants who had taken refuge here, and that restraint should be put upon the liberty of the English press which made candid comments on his conduct. In face of such perfidious arrogance, Britain declared war in May, 1803.

The war lasted till Waterloo, 1815. It differed in character from that which had been waged during the previous decade. In the latter, Europe had assumed the aggressive to destroy the French Republic and restore the Bourbons; whereas France, posing as the champion of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, aimed at giving the death-blow to feudal privileges throughout Europe. In the present war Buonaparte is the deliberate aggressor. Europe replies to check the boundless ambition of a despot who wished to deprive other countries of their liberties. Britain was now all but unanimous, for it was felt that Buonaparte cherished one predominant hope—the utter ruin of British supremacy.

Buonaparte followed precedent by stirring up the just resentment of the Irish against English rule. A leader was found in a barrister named Robert Emmett, who trusted that Catholic Emancipation would be a sufficient rallying cry. He was deceived and the rising proved abortive. Though many Irishmen fought nobly in the war against France, as a nation they remained sullen with the bitterness of disappointment.

Addington, Prime Minister since the resignation of Pitt in 1801, was considered too incompetent to cope with the exigencies of the situation with which Britain was now faced. He did not think so himself; and he had a liking for the sweets of power. The nation clamoured for Pitt, the pilot who had weathered the previous storm. Pitt and Fox thereupon combined to force Addington to resign. George called upon Pitt to form a new administration. It was natural that Fox should expect office, but George declared that he would prefer civil war to Mr. Fox, and Pitt saw that the country was faced

**Character of
the War.**

**Irish Rebel-
lion, 1803.**

**Pitt's Second
Ministry,
1804-1806.**

with too grave a peril to refuse to form an administration without him. He sacrificed Fox, as he had sacrificed the Catholics. On the other hand, Fox was not an enthusiastic champion of war. Pitt therefore had to rely on the support of his friends, chief among whom were Castlereagh and Canning, though some of Fox's admirers gave him their support too. In December Buonaparte was proclaimed Emperor Napoleon I, having banished the successful General Moreau, who might have competed with him for popularity, and having also procured the death of the Duke of Enghien, who, being one of the Bourbons, might have proved dangerous.

Meanwhile, Napoleon's elaborate preparations for an invasion of England were far advanced. He had concentrated a huge force at Dunkirk, within sight of the English coast.

Preparations for Invasion.

An enormous fleet of flat-bottomed boats was in readiness to transport this "Army of England," as he proudly christened it. All that was necessary was to hold command of the Channel for twenty-four hours. "It is but a ditch," he said, "and anyone can cross it who has the courage to try." He placed his headquarters at Boulogne, and anxiously waited for the opportunity of slipping across. Britain was organising her forces too. An army of 300,000 volunteers was ready to contest a landing. And here he would have met with the resolute resistance of a whole people, not of rulers only, as in other parts of Europe, where there was a wide gulf between the Government and the people.

After many weary months of waiting, there seemed no prospect of his being able to control the Channel. His fleets at Brest and

Toulon were blockaded. Nelson traversed the seas at will. Impatient with delay, Napoleon allied with Spain

Napoleon's Plan.

so that he might add her fleet to his own. Pitt had anticipated this step and began to seize her treasure-ships. Napoleon's subtle mind then conceived a daring piece of naval strategy. The French fleet under Villeneuve at Toulon was to sail to the West Indies. Nelson, in command of the Mediterranean squadron, would pursue. Villeneuve would hasten back, join the Brest fleet and sail up the Channel. The British fleets in home waters would be outnumbered. England would be at his feet. Villeneuve actually escaped the vigilant eye of Nelson during a storm, and sailed with all despatch to the West Indies. Nelson raced after him, reaching the Barbadoes in June. Villeneuve had already doubled

back. Nelson chased him, and sent two of his fastest ships to warn them in England. Sir Robert Calder offered battle to Villeneuve, though the Frenchman outnumbered him by two to one. The result was a draw, and Villeneuve reached Ferrol in the north of Spain, where the French and Spanish squadrons were united. Meanwhile Nelson returned to the Mediterranean. Villeneuve, instead of sailing up Channel, made the fatal blunder of sailing back to Cadiz, where he arrived in August and was promptly blockaded. Napoleon, who had hopefully scanned the horizon for the fleet which was to convey him to England, broke up his camp at Boulogne in unutterable disgust.

Nelson, after a brief stay in England, set sail to keep an eye on Villeneuve. The latter, having become aware of Napoleon's furious and biting anger at the ruin of his plans, **Trafalgar, October, 1805.** sailed out of harbour on October 21, with thirty-three ships and five frigates. Nelson opposed him with twenty-seven. Forming his ships into two columns, he attacked at right angles to the enemy's line, cutting it into three parts. The ships grappled in deadly combat. Twenty-two of the enemy's ships were captured. The victory was overwhelming; as overwhelming as the grief in England when it became known that Nelson was dead, killed by a musket-ball on his flagship, the *Victory*. For this reason the Spaniards unto this day consider Trafalgar a Spanish victory.

In intense chagrin Napoleon had already hurled his mighty "Army of England" against hapless Austria, who with Russia had joined Britain in the Third Coalition. As in the two previous coalitions, Pitt was the moving spirit. With swift marches Napoleon was able to strike at the allies in succession. In October, before Trafalgar was fought, an Austrian army of 30,000 was forced to capitulate at Ulm. Six weeks later, at Austerlitz, he pulverised Austria and Russia.

On January 23, 1806, William Pitt died. It is sometimes said that Austerlitz killed Pitt. But already in failing health, he had received a staggering blow when, by the Speaker's casting vote, his friend Lord Melville was condemned for malversation. Canning had described him as "The Pilot that weathered the storm." No statesman of the time could have piloted the country with so much success through such

**Death of
Pitt, 1806.**

tempests of revolution. A cruel fate cast his lot into stormy days of war, wars almost unparalleled in history, while he was above all things a Minister of peace. His efforts on land were generally failures, due largely to the pernicious system by which only aristocrats could hold the highest positions in the army, and to the incalculable genius of Napoleon. On sea Pitt maintained unquestioned our supremacy. Notwithstanding his frequent overtures for peace, he had been the soul of the Coalitions against France. His last public speech closed with the memorable words: "Europe is not to be saved by any single man. England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example."

On the death of Pitt the old King's hostility to Fox abated. Thereupon Fox and Grenville formed the "Ministry of all the Talents," so called because, like the Broad Bottom Administration of 1744, it contained the ablest men of all parties. The generous sentiments of Fox had led him to believe that Napoleon was not the demon of war that he really was. He therefore opened negotiations with the French

Emperor, with the object of bringing to an end the war he had consistently denounced. He soon found that Napoleon was not so frank as he had believed, and became convinced that the war must continue. He did not live to carry it on. On September 13, 1806, he died. Inexorable fate decreed that, in spite of his transcendent gifts as a speaker, he should be the champion of an unpopular cause, so that his career was spent in opposition to his brilliant rival, William Pitt.

His last act was to obtain a pledge from Parliament to place a coping-stone on the humane exertions of Clarkson and Wilberforce. (i) **Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807.** A society for the abolition of the slave trade had been formed by these men in 1787. They stirred the hearts of men by their tales of the horrors of the passage across the Atlantic. The House of Lords, with a holy dread of revolution, was unbending in its aversion to reform of any kind. At last, in 1807, the ungodly trade was abolished under the British flag. Efforts were then started to bring about the abolition of slavery altogether.

The Ministry showed no great capacity in its conduct of the war. It wasted money on petty, fruitless expeditions. One of these was the landing of a small force in Calabria, in Italy, in

emphasis

1806. The French were defeated at Maida, but without substantial result except loss of prestige to the French. (ii) **Grenville's War Policy.** The same year, however, the Cape of Good Hope fell into our hands, Ceylon in 1807, and in 1810 Mauritius. But Grenville and his colleagues had one warlike virtue. They acquired a firm conviction that there must be implacable war between Britain and Napoleon, and carried it on with dogged pertinacity. The same thing applies to subsequent administrations, in spite of their unreasoning jealousy of generals in the field, and often inadequate support.

Napoleon was equally determined to destroy Britain, and the commerce which was the secret of her strength. He had already formed the smaller states of Germany into the Confederation of the Rhine, where French influence was to be supreme. He then threw his legions against Prussia, who had selfishly held aloof from Austria and Russia the previous year, thinking to snatch an advantage from their ruin. Her doom was only postponed. In October, at Jena, Napoleon overwhelmed her, and entered Berlin in triumph. Prussian independence temporarily disappeared. Russia still stood defiant until humbled at Friedland in June, 1807. The same year the Czar Alexander came to terms with his conqueror at the Treaty of Tilsit, by which he received accession of territory at the cost of Prussia and Turkey.

The Continent was now humbled to the dust. With Europe at his feet, Napoleon bethought himself of another method against Britain. This was his Continental System. In (iii) **Continental System, November.** November, 1806, he issued the "Berlin Decrees," which declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade. France and her allies or dependents were forbidden to trade with us. All British goods were to be confiscated. British subjects in countries occupied by French soldiers were to be arrested and imprisoned. All states obeyed that had cause to fear the thunder of his cannon. But without a navy to carry them into execution the Decrees were a dead letter. The Grenville Ministry retaliated with the Orders in Council, by which all trade with the ports of France and her allies was forbidden. (iv) **Orders in Council, 1807.** The British navy could make these Orders effective.

The commercial war which the Decrees and the Orders brought into being had a most ruinous effect upon the trade and naval power

of Napoleon's European allies, while Britain, monopolising the carrying trade of the world, swept others off the sea. The colonies of France, Spain and Holland fell an easy prey to our flotillas. And yet Napoleon's subjects could not refrain from buying British goods, and colonial produce which British ships alone could supply. Hence a vast and extremely remunerative smuggling trade came into existence; this sent up prices, which in its turn bred national hostility to Napoleon. Lastly, the damage which the Orders in Council inflicted on neutrals brought us into conflict with the United States in 1812.

Early in 1807 the Ministry of all the Talents came to an end, unlamented. A bill was introduced to throw open to Catholics and Nonconformists some of the higher posts in the army and navy. George III, with his undying enmity to toleration, would not hear of it, and dismissed his Ministers. In the elections that followed, the country, guided by the Anglican parson and the Anglican squire, endorsed the King's action. This was the last of his triumphs over Ministers.

The Duke of Portland headed the new anti-toleration Tory administration. Nearly twenty-five years before he was the nominal chief of the coalition of Fox and North, in 1783. Canning became Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Castlereagh, Secretary for War. In 1809 Perceval became Prime Minister, and retained his position until 1812, when he was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons. The previous year George became permanently insane. The Prince of Wales became Prince Regent, but there was no material change of policy. On the death of Perceval Lord Liverpool became Prime Minister, with Castlereagh as Foreign Secretary. His ministry lasted till 1827.

Canning as Foreign Minister was alert. Since the Treaty of Tilsit France and Russia would act in concert to humble Britain.

Canning obtained secret intelligence that they proposed to seize the Danish fleet, in spite of the neutrality of Denmark. To prevent the catastrophe a British fleet was sent to anticipate the French. The Danes refused, naturally, to hand over their ships. Copenhagen thereupon experienced a bombardment. The fleet was seized and kept till peace was concluded. Moreover, the British seized Heligoland. It proved a convenient station for the fleet to watch North Germany.

Fall of the Ministry, 1807.

Portland Ministry, 1807-1809.

Canning, 1807.

Napoleon had already sown the seeds of his own downfall. The commercial war was beginning to tell its inevitable tale in friction between him and his subject states. The dis-
Peoples rise, memberment of Prussia had provoked a national
1808. hostility which drove every Prussian to arms. In 1808 Napoleon, by an act of unparalleled insolence, trampled upon Spanish pride, and outraged a whole people by dethroning their king, Charles IV, and placing his own brother Joseph on the throne at Madrid. Lastly, Portugal, a consistent ally of Britain, was set down for partition; and the House of Braganza, banished from the throne, sought refuge in Brazil. When Junot marched with his army to occupy Portugal, the fires of popular indignation were flaming behind him everywhere in Spain. Every Spanish peasant had sharpened his knife, prepared to use it on any French straggler who crossed his path. For the first time a people had risen against Napoleon. At Baylen a force of about 20,000 French had to capitulate. King Joseph was expelled ignominiously from Madrid. Britain now assumed a new rôle, by sending Sir Arthur Wellesley to begin a land campaign in Portugal.

The heroic resistance of the Spanish peasantry roused enthusiasm in Britain. Shortly after the disaster to French arms at Baylen,
The Penin- Sir Arthur Wellesley landed an army of 12,000 men
sula War. in Mondego Bay, between Lisbon and Oporto. Sir
1808-1814. John Moore was to follow with reinforcements. Junot and the French were at Lisbon, the Portuguese capital. Marching southwards, Wellesley skirmished with the enemy at Rorica and beat him. Thereupon Junot issued from Lisbon to stay his progress; the two armies met at Vimiero, where the Frenchman
Vimiero, was beaten. While these events were in progress
1808. Wellesley's superior officers, Sir Henry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple, arrived from England and took command. Both were incompetent mediocrities. Instead of driving home the advantage which Wellesley had gained by his victory, they stopped the pursuit. Junot was allowed to reorganise. Negotiations were set on foot and the Convention
Convention of Cintra agreed to, the terms of which enabled the
of Cintra. whole French army with its spoils to be shipped to France in British ships. The evacuation left Portugal in the hands of the British; but this advantage, great as it was, was not deemed sufficient by the people at home. They had expected to see the

French army marched through the streets of London as prisoners of war. To appease their stout indignation, Burrard, Dalrymple and Wellesley were court-martialled, the two senior officers losing their commands. Wellesley's reputation was enhanced. Strangely enough, Junot incurred the displeasure of Napoleon for accepting such terms.

Sir John Moore was left in command of the British troops for the time being. Napoleon, realising the danger from a threatened

Spanish national rising assisted by the British, hastened **Corunna, January, 1809.** across the Pyrenees to stave off further disasters.

All resistance melted before him. In December he entered Madrid in triumph. Taking the road to Vittoria, Moore, who had already reached Salamanca, was threatening Napoleon's line of communications with France. Moore's object was not to engage Napoleon in a pitched battle, but rather to divert his attention from the south of Spain. His object was accomplished when Soult and Napoleon marched against him.

Sir John Moore. Leaving Soult to deal with Moore, Napoleon crossed the Pyrenees. Moore thereupon retreated on Corunna,

Soult following hard behind. At Corunna, to his profound disappointment, he found that the fleet on which he was to embark for England had not arrived. Driven to bay, he fought and won. Soult was repulsed and the British were able to go on board without molestation; but Moore received a mortal wound.

British statesmen were now encouraged in the conviction that a vigorous land campaign could be undertaken with advantage.

The Walcheren Expedition, 1809. A huge army of 100,000 was enrolled for the purpose. But Ministers were not well advised in the use they

made of their material. Instead of despatching them to Spain, a strong force of 40,000 was sent to attack Antwerp and relieve the pressure on Austria. Gross mismanagement and incompetence characterised the whole affair. Pitt's elder brother, who was placed in command, was thoroughly unfit. The army landed on the disease-stricken swamps of the island of Walcheren, at the mouth of the Scheldt. Fever thinned the ranks; there were no medical appliances. To prevent further havoc, the troops were withdrawn without having accomplished anything. Canning, the Foreign Secretary, and Castlereagh, the Secretary for War, endeavoured to cast the responsibility on each other, which led to the resignation of both. The dispute ended in a duel. Perceval

now became Prime Minister, the strain of office having become too great for the Duke of Portland. Lord Liverpool became Secretary for War.

When Napoleon retired from Spain he found it imperative once more to attend to Austria. There were signs that the people were uneasy under the foreign yoke. Once again the
Wagram, July. Austrians were humiliated, being defeated at Wagram and compelled to agree to terms. This humiliation reached its lowest depths when Napoleon, having divorced his wife Josephine Beauharnais, forced the Emperor to give him his daughter, the Archduchess Marie Louise, in marriage.

Meanwhile, before the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, Canning had appointed Sir Arthur Wellesley to the supreme command in Portugal, the happiest stroke of the Portland Ministry. Wellesley hastened to justify the confidence reposed in him. Soult was at Oporto. Wellesley attacked and forced him to abandon baggage and guns and to retreat on Salamanca. Wellesley then joined the Spanish army in the Valley of the Tagus. Soult, having quickly reorganised his forces at Salamanca, contrived a skilful plan of cutting Wellesley off from his base at Lisbon, while
Sir Arthur Wellesley. King Joseph attacked in front. Wellesley met the attacking French at Talavera. Though his Spanish allies were of little use to him, he completely routed the French; and having eluded Soult, who was falling on his rear, succeeded in crossing the Tagus into Portugal. For his brilliant victory Wellesley was made Viscount Wellington.

The Tagus for about fifty miles from its mouth runs parallel to the sea and forms with it a peninsula, at the lower end of which Lisbon is situated. This peninsula became Wellington's base of operations. He fortified it with consummate skill and made it absolutely impregnable by land. These lines of defence were the famous "lines of Torres Vedras."
Torres Vedras, 1810. There could be no attack from the sea as long as the British fleet ruled the waves, while all army stores could be sent from England without danger. The French armies, on the other hand, had to live on plunder, and were forced to disperse for the purpose. Wellington had his troops under immediate control.

Napoleon now sent one of the ablest of his generals, Masséna,

with an army of veterans, to dislodge Wellington from his mighty fortress on the hills. But Wellington, having destroyed the crops and denuded the country around of whatever might have served as food material for the French, retired within the lines, remaining there till the spring of 1811. The French rolled onwards through desolation and ruin, full of determination to drive the British into the sea. Once indeed, in September, 1810, Wellington offered battle to Masséna at Busaco. The carnage was terrible. Masséna was repulsed, but was afterwards able to resume his advance. When at last he surveyed the fortifications he realised that they were impregnable. To have attempted to storm hills studded with 500 pieces of cannon would have been madness. Food became scarce. The Spaniards harassed them with a guerilla warfare. The torrents of autumn brought sickness and disease. Masséna, utterly discomfited, was forced to turn his back on Portugal. He retired to the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo.

Although the French had retired they still kept watch on Wellington's movements. Soult, who had moved from the south of Spain, was at Badajoz, on the southern frontier between Portugal and Spain. Masséna was at Ciudad Rodrigo, which guarded the northern frontier on the side of Spain. The French also held Almeida, a northern Portuguese fortress, against which, in May, 1811, Wellington moved. A fierce battle ensued between him and Masséna at Fuentes d'Onoro, which resulted in the French being driven off. Almeida fell; Portugal was cleared of the French, and the unlucky Masséna was replaced by Marmont. In the same month of May Beresford essayed to capture the fortress of Badajoz in the south. Soult attacked; another sanguinary battle followed, in which nearly two-thirds of the British troops engaged were killed or wounded. Indeed, the army might have been annihilated but for the bravery of the Fusilier Brigade. Badajoz for the time remained in the hands of the French.

Next year Wellington's successes were still more striking. In January he made a furious attack on Ciudad Rodrigo, and succeeded in storming it. His losses were terrible, the unavoidable outcome of carrying by assault. Marmont, thereupon, was driven back upon Salamanca. In April Wellington fell on Badajoz, the corresponding fortress in

**Busaco,
1810.**

**Fuentes
d'Onoro,
May, 1811.**

Albuera.

**Ciudad
Rodrigo,
January, 1812.**

the south. In April it also was carried by assault, the losses being again enormous. An ugly feature of the two assaults was the discreditable behaviour of the British soldiery after their glorious victories. Once more the intrepid Wellington hastened northwards to cope with the greater danger, Marmont at Salamanca. General Hill, who was left to watch Soult in the south, flung himself against the French who held the bridge of Almaraz, which crosses the Tagus, and seized it. This made it impossible for Soult's army to join Marmont against Wellington in the north. On July 22, Wellington and Marmont faced each other at Salamanca. Here, as in previous campaigns, his Spanish allies were of little assistance. Nevertheless his victory was complete. He then marched on Madrid and entered it in triumph, amid lavish expressions of boundless gratitude. But failing to overcome the stubborn resistance of Burgos, while Soult and Marmont were concentrating, Wellington once more retired to Portugal. It was his last retreat.

Napoleon now drew some of his veterans from Spain to take part in the Russian campaign, which proved his ruin. Towards the end of the summer of 1812 he set out with half a million men. At Borodino the Russians were crushed with frightful carnage. Retiring towards Moscow, they devastated their own land far and wide, leaving nothing but desolation to the advancing French. When Napoleon reached Moscow, he found it given over to the flames. There were no treasures, no supplies, no shelter. During the return journey his miserable troops experienced the deadly terrors of a Russian winter. Only a shadow of his magnificent army of veterans returned. Desertion, exhaustion, starvation had wrought ruinous havoc. All Europe was mad with joy at the disaster. Fresh exertions were made on all sides, and with greater confidence, to bring retribution on the tyrant. To meet Europe in arms Napoleon had to rely on raw conscripts. His veterans were buried beneath the snows of Russia.

To strengthen his new army Napoleon drew further on his army of Spain, which made Wellington's task less difficult. In May, 1813, the British crossed the frontier of Portugal, moving in three divisions, Hill on the right along the valley of the Tagus, Sir Thomas Graham on the left,

Badajoz,
April.

Salamanca,
July 22.

Moscow
Campaign,
1812-1813.

Vittoria,
June 21, 1813.

Wellington in the centre. The three armies concentrated at Vittoria where, on June 21, Jourdan and the French contested their advance. Wellington and Hill attacked in front; Sir Thomas Graham made a flank movement to cut off the retreat. The movement was overwhelmingly successful. Abandoning all their guns, baggage, and treasures, the French made a hurried retreat towards the Pyrenees. Here Soult made two desperate but futile attempts to stay the torrent at the "Battles of the Pyrenees." The French were driven across the mountains, Wellington in pursuit. St. Sebastian surrendered in September. In October Wellington left the ridges of Spain and entered the fair fields of the south of France.

**Toulouse,
April 10, 1814.**

At last, for the first time since the star of Napoleon had risen above the horizon, the frontiers of France were crossed by her British foe. Wellington engaged Soult once more at Orthez, and in April at Toulouse. The latter battle was so even that both sides claimed the victory.

The allies had already forced Paris to capitulate. After Napoleon's return from Moscow he was once more opposed by the combined forces of Russia, Austria and Prussia in a final united effort. His genius had not yet deserted him. With his accustomed rapidity of movement he struck at them in succession with mighty blows. But while his resources were now limited, the allies recuperated more easily, and reorganised after defeat. He had now to meet nations in arms, not rulers with their unwilling levies. At Leipzig, in October, after a tremendous struggle which lasted three days (October 16-19), he was defeated and driven across the Rhine frontier. The allies entered France. In March they entered Paris. In April Napoleon abdicated and was allowed to retire to the island of Elba,

**Napoleon
abdicates.**

**The Treaty
of Paris,
May, 1814.**

which he received as a principality. The boundaries of France were to be those of 1792, such as they were before France began to pursue a policy of wanton aggression. Louis XVIII was put on the throne of his ancestors as a constitutional sovereign. A Congress was summoned to Vienna to re-arrange the map of Europe.

Of Wellington's generals none were more famous than the brave Welshman General Picton, a native of Pembrokeshire. When he returned to England at the end of the Peninsula War, the House of Commons thanked him for his services in these words: "By your sword the British troops

**General
Picton.**

were led on to the victorious assault on Ciudad Rodrigo ; by your daring hand the British standard was planted upon the castle of Badajoz. When the usurper of the Spanish throne was driven to make his last stand at Vittoria, your battalions filled the centre of that formidable line before which the veteran troops of France fled in terror and dismay ; and by your skill, prudence and valour, exerted in a critical hour, the enemy was foiled in his desperate attempt to break through the barrier of the Pyrenees." We shall meet Picton again at Waterloo.

Napoleon was so uncompromising and high-handed in the means he employed to defeat Britain, that Britain was obliged to retaliate with similar high-handed measures. Hence the severity of the Orders in Council, which resulted in war with the United States. The Americans resented the right of search. American ships which defied the Orders by attempting to run the blockade into French ports were seized. Statesmen on both sides displayed a lack of good sense. We therefore tumbled into an unnecessary war with our former colonists. Several engagements of minor significance took place on the American lakes, in which the balance of advantage remained with the Americans. Our trade in American waters of necessity suffered disastrously. But an attempt of the Americans to invade Canada was foiled. Of the naval encounters, that between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake* was the fiercest, the latter, the American man-of-war, being captured after a desperate struggle. In 1814 some of the troops that had campaigned in Spain under Wellington were sent over under Ross. They defeated the Americans at Bladensburg and set Washington on fire. A peace had already been agreed upon at Ghent, through the friendly mediation of Russia, when the British failed miserably before New Orleans. The only result of the war was to stir up afresh the dying enmity between the two nations.

The European Congress met at Vienna in September to settle the affairs of Europe. Great Britain was represented by Lord Castlereagh. We retained Malta, the Ionian Islands, Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Heligoland and other minor conquests. Spain acquired Minorca. Sweden received Norway. Holland and Belgium were united under the Prince of Orange. Prussia was given a bulwark against France on the left bank of the Rhine. As regards European affairs, the

American War, 1812-1814.

Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815.

main object of Britain was to maintain the "balance of power." In general policy the Congress proved reactionary, with bitter results in the immediate future; for the principle of nationality was ignored or subordinated to the interests of rulers. The question of abolishing the slave-trade was raised by Castlereagh, and several of the Powers agreed to abolish it.

The peaceful deliberations of the Plenipotentiaries were rudely broken by the embarrassing news that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and landed in France (March 1, 1815). Louis XVIII took refuge in Brussels. Napoleon made his way to Paris. The garrison of Grenoble was ordered to capture him on his way to the capital. They raised muskets to fire when Napoleon, opening his well-known grey overcoat, exclaimed: "Let him among you who wishes to kill me, fire." The garrison, instead of firing, accompanied him in triumph to Paris, where he was escorted by a torchlight procession. He entered the Tuileries amid scenes of tumultuous joy and once more assumed the title of Emperor. He was still the idol of his soldiers. The Coalition of the Powers was revived. Napoleon tried to disarm them by futile declarations of his peaceful intentions. The period from March 13 to June 22, when he finally abdicated, constitutes what are called the "Hundred Days."

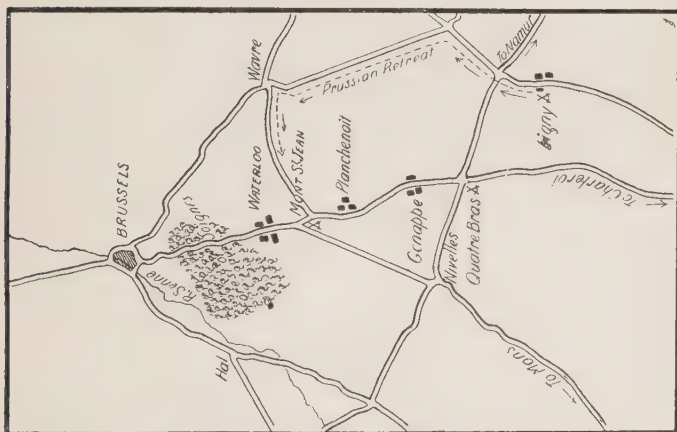
Blucher immediately concentrated his Prussian troops between Ligny and Charleroi. Wellington was more remiss in bringing together his motley army of British, Hanoverians, Dutch and Belgians, that were in Belgium. Napoleon's intention was to defeat Blucher and Wellington in succession, both of whom knew the imperative necessity of acting in concert. Blucher had roughly 120,000 men; Wellington's army numbered 93,000, of whom only 31,000 were British troops. It had no cohesion; the Belgians were distrusted, not unjustly, as events proved. Wellington's headquarters were at Brussels; Blucher's at Namur. Napoleon, leaving Paris on June 12, was at Charleroi on June 15, in command of 124,000 men, most of them veterans. Many of the British had never before been under fire. Napoleon, therefore, had every hope of success.

On the 16th Blucher was at Ligny, occupying an exposed position on a slope. A small force of Dutch-Belgians from Picton at Quatre Bras, Wellington's army had already occupied Quatre June 16. Bras. Other British troops were advancing rapidly

Napoleon escapes from Elba, March 1, 1815.

Napoleon's Plan.

to reinforce them. Napoleon's plan was plain. He would first attack the Prussians at Ligny, crush them, and drive the remnant to the south-east, back on their headquarters at Namur. Meanwhile he would seize Quatre Bras and strike the Prussians from the rear. Accordingly, the French attacked Quatre Bras, now defended by General Picton. The fierce onsets of Ney's cavalry could not pierce Picton's squares; and a six hours' desperate fight ended in favour of the Welshman. Ney was forced to retreat. Picton was so often face to face with death that day that he remarked to



CAMPAIGN OF WATERLOO.

one of his officers, "I shall begin to think that I cannot be killed after this."

On the same day Napoleon had assailed the Prussians at Ligny. Blucher offered a stubborn resistance until the evening, when

Napoleon's Old Guard was launched against him in a terrific onslaught. He yielded, but the reverse was not overwhelming; for the Prussians were not

driven towards Namur, which was essential to the success of Napoleon's plan. Instead, Blucher retreated in good order in a direction parallel with the road from Quatre Bras to Waterloo, so that he

Ligny,
June 16.

could keep in touch with Wellington. Napoleon believed that he had retreated towards Namur, and sent Grouchy in pursuit, but not till two o'clock next day, June 17. The repulse of the Prussians so far neutralised Wellington's success at Quatre Bras that the British were forced to fall back on Waterloo. The Prussians were at Wavre, twelve miles west of Waterloo, having been reinforced by fresh troops. Wellington took up a strong position at Mont St. Jean, and offered battle on Sunday, June 18. Early that morning he received intelligence that Blücher would send assistance, though not before he had resolved to try the fate of battle, relying on the bravery of the British and German troops.

Wellington's position extended along the ridge of a slope, behind which ran the road to Wavre. In the rear was the village of Waterloo. In front of his right flank was the château of Hougomont; in the centre were the extensive farm-buildings of La Haye Sainte, on the high road to Brussels. Wellington occupied these two positions. Between him and Napoleon ran a shallow valley. The French were drawn up on the ridges of La Belle Alliance, which ran parallel to those on which Wellington's troops were posted. The French numbered 72,000, with 246 cannon; Wellington commanded 67,000—24,000 being British—with 156 cannon. To protect his men from the merciless fire of Napoleon, he screened them with unrivalled skill behind the brow of the ridge.

Napoleon did not begin the attack till nearly noon, for it was necessary that the ground should recover after sixteen hours' rain, to enable his cavalry and artillery to manœuvre with their usual deadly effect. Hougomont was at once subjected to a fierce and sustained attack. But not all the ardour and fury of the French could drive off the British Guards. Then came the most furious cannonade of the day, that on La Haye Sainte. This was followed by the repeated charges of dense masses of cavalry under that brilliant officer, Ney. He was again opposed by Picton. The Belgians were swept aside and took to their heels. The French mounted the crest, but only to be met by a withering fire from the impregnable squares. Picton quickly drew up his men, charged, and hurled one column over the slope. In the attempt he was shot in the head and fell dead. The battle swayed for several hours. French cavalry repeatedly enveloped the squares. In vain did they strive to cleave an opening, until they surged

back again before a deadly musket-fire on every side. Soon after four o'clock the Prussians were deploying on the French right flank, and Napoleon had to draw infantry from his centre to oppose them. By six o'clock the British and Hanoverians had been driven from La Haye Sainte, having exhausted their ammunition. But the French infantry were not in sufficient strength to maintain the advantage.

About 7 o'clock Napoleon took the only course which might have won him the day: he hurled his Guards on Wellington's right centre. Never before had these veterans failed. They were



WATERLOO AT NOON.

led by Ney in person. Having mounted the slope they were confronted by the calm, stubborn British squares, the ranks thinned indeed, but unbroken. A hail of musketry fire shattered the first column. It rolled back on the second, which was likewise hurled down the slope. Blucher was now in touch with

Wellington's left. The "Iron Duke" ordered a general advance. The retreat became a disastrous rout, for Wellington's cavalry was still fresh, and vengeance burned in every Prussian breast. Had Napoleon fallen into their hands they would have shot him on the spot.

The Prussians lost heavily. More than a fourth of the British were sacrificed. Napoleon's army of veterans was shattered;

while all his artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the allies.

St. Helena. Napoleon had already fled to Paris, where he endeavoured to raise another army. There was no response.

He tried to escape to America; he failed, and surrendered at Rochefort to the commander of the *Bellerophon*. He was exiled to St. Helena, a little island in the Atlantic, 1,400 miles from the mainland of South Africa. There this greatest captain of modern times spent the remaining years of his life. He died in 1821.

The allies were not so merciful at the end of the "Hundred Days." France had to pay a large war indemnity. Her frontiers were contracted. All the works of art which had been stolen from European capitals during the wars of the Revolution were restored. The fortresses in the north of France were placed in the hands of the allies for five years.

Second Treaty of Paris. In the negotiations which necessarily followed, Castlereagh represented the United Kingdom and played an influential part. As regards France he was tolerant, for it was not his policy to reduce her to impotence. He would have her still strong enough to be a factor in the balance of power. We did not gain as much as we might have demanded. We could afford to be magnanimous. For, in addition to our colonial conquests, and the extension of British influence in Australia and New Zealand, the fleets of France, Spain, and the Dutch were at the bottom of the sea. Their carrying trade was almost wholly in our hands, the commercial war having recoiled with disastrous effect on every European Power. Our manufactures had prospered, and the country was wealthy.

Castlereagh further reflected public opinion in Britain by refusing to join the Holy Alliance. This was an alliance entered into by Russia, Prussia and Austria, to give each other mutual help in the suppression of all democratic movements in their respective countries, pretending to be acting on the principles of Christianity. It was obvious that the lessons of the French Revolution were entirely lost upon these monarchs, all of whom believed that they were despots appointed by Providence. They were still advocates of the absolutism which had hurled the Bourbons from the throne; of a policy by which states were governed, and even bartered away in the interests solely of their rulers. But a new principle was coming into vogue, the principle of nationality, according to which people of the same

**The Holy Alliance,
1815.**

language and of the same nation should be under the same Government, and should work out each its own salvation without the interference of other nations. Such a policy of non-intervention was the policy of British statesmen.

Though industrial prosperity had smiled upon Britain during the wars, the next few years were a period of intense depression and misery. Firstly, the agricultural labourer was discontented. During the war foreign supplies of agricultural produce were cut off. This gave British landlords a practical monopoly in supply, which, in its turn, enabled them to raise prices. More land was brought into cultivation, which gave more employment. But wages did not rise to meet the increased price of food, because labour was plentiful. The landlords prospered, but not the agricultural labourer. The ill-advised Poor Law of the time made it possible for the labourer to claim relief from the rates, if he could show that his wages were not sufficient to keep him and his family. This demoralised the labourer, in that it made him depend on relief and not on what he earned by his own exertions. The iniquitous system also encouraged farmers to give low wages. After the war was over foreign corn was imported and competed with home produce. This tended to lower prices. To keep up prices and "protect" the landlords, the Corn Laws were passed in 1815, which shut out foreign wheat till English wheat was 80s. per quarter. The farmers on the poorest land could not compete under the new conditions. Consequently, many labourers were thrown out of employment. To add to the prevailing misery the harvests of 1816-1817 were bad. Wheat rose to 100s. per quarter, which would have been higher but for foreign competition.

If the agricultural interest was depressed the toilers in the industrial districts were in more miserable plight. The restoration of peace destroyed the monopoly of British manufactures. Therefore the foreign demand was less. But the most potent cause of discontent was the introduction of machinery, which at first threw a large number out of employment; for fewer hands could turn out a larger quantity of goods. In the long run the supply of labour would be adjusted, because the increased supply of the commodity would lower its price; at the lower price there would be an increased demand for the article; and the increased demand would increase the demand

**Discontent
at Home :**
(i) **Agricultural.**

**The Corn
Laws.**

(ii) **Manu-
facturing.**

for labour. Since there was a glut of labour, available wages remained low. The great manufacturers, like the great landlords, made huge fortunes. The labourers were face to face with starvation. Hence there were frequent riots against the substitution of machinery for hand labour. In 1811 there was a dangerous riot in Nottinghamshire. The rioters called themselves "Luddites," after one of their number. These led to repressive measures on the part of the Government, to whom every disturbance of the peace savoured of revolution. It made no attempt at reform.

**"Luddite"
Riots.**

The Spa-Field Riots took place in 1816. After an attempt at an armed rising in Derbyshire in June, 1817, the leaders of which were executed, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended.

Riots.

This revolt was actually encouraged by secret agents of the Government, the better to overawe the people by striking hard. Previous to this a march was arranged from Manchester to London, to put their grievances before the Prince Regent. It was called the march of the "Blanketeers," because each one carried a blanket in which to sleep. The rioters, however, did not accomplish their journey. When the Prince Regent opened Parliament in 1817 he received a very hostile reception from the crowd. The march of the Blanketeers was followed by the "Sidmouth Circular," which authorised magistrates to apprehend any persons who wrote against the Government.

A more intelligent section of the people realised that the only way to remove the grievances was to secure the return to Parliament of members who sympathised with the discontented classes. This resulted in a renewal of the efforts for Parliamentary reform by the Radicals. Their champion in the House of Commons was Sir Francis Burdett. Large meetings were held throughout the country to advocate changes in the parliamentary representation, and bring the demands to the notice of the ruling classes. The most famous of these was that at Manchester, in August, 1819. About 30,000 people, men, women and children, assembled in St. Peter's Fields near that town, to urge forward the demand for reform by petitioning Parliament. The chief agitator was one Hunt. Proclamations had previously been issued against seditious meetings. Hunt was arrested and imprisoned. A body of yeomanry charged the crowd. Half-a-dozen people

The Radicals.

**"Peterloo"
or "Man-
chester"
Massacre.**

were killed and many more wounded. The worst feature of the affair was that the Government, which should have condemned the action of the magistrates, actually supported them.

In December Ministers proceeded along the same reactionary path and passed the "Six Acts." Castlereagh was mainly responsible for these measures, which were uncalled for. **Six Acts, 1819.** Drilling was checked; the use of arms was forbidden in sixteen counties under severe penalties; public meetings and the publication of libels were suppressed, and the liberty of the press was put under restraint. A motion of Lord John Russell in favour of reform was rejected, for the existing representation was scandalous. In the midst of this turmoil, in January, 1820, George III, who had been insane for nine years, passed away, and the Prince Regent became king as George IV.

CHIEF DATES.

Outbreak of French Revolution	1789
England at War with France	1793
Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown	1797
The Nile	1798
Union of Great Britain and Ireland	1800
Peace of Amiens	1802
Trafalgar	1805
Orders in Council	1807
Peninsula War	1808-1814
War with United States	1812-1814
Congress of Vienna	1814-1815
Waterloo	1815
The Six Acts	1819

NOTES.

1. Pitt and the French Revolution.
 - (a) Attitude. Up to 1793, roughly speaking, he set his face steadfastly against interfering in France's affairs. He hoped and believed England need not be drawn into the meshes of the Revolution. Driven to war in 1793, he yet made repeated and strenuous overtures for peace, though fortunately he had nursed Britain to meet the drain of a mighty war. His land enterprises were failures. On sea he was successful through the genius of Nelson.
 - (b) Repressive measures. Not extreme considering the extreme gravity of the danger threatening.
 - 1794-1801. Habeas Corpus Act suspended.
 1793. Traitorous Correspondence Act forbade intercourse with France. Alien Act.

1795. Treasonable Practices Bill. Seditious Meetings Bill.
2. Wars of the First Coalition, 1793–1799.
 - 1793. Toulon. British driven off.
 - 1794. Howe's victory off Ushant.
 - 1797. Cape St. Vincent. Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore.
 - 1797. Camperdown.
 - 1798. Battle of the Nile.
 - 1799. Siege of Acre.
 3. Wars of the Second Coalition, 1799–1802.
 - The fighting is mainly on land, and is noted for Napoleon's crushing victories over the allies.
 - 1800. The Armed Neutrality.
 - 1801. Battle of Alexandria (or Aboukir). French army in Egypt defeated. Copenhagen. Danish fleet defeated.
 - 1802. Peace of Amiens.
 4. The Third Coalition, 1805.
 - 1805. Trafalgar. Austerlitz.
 - 1806. Death of Pitt. Jena.
 - 1806. Berlin Decrees.
 - 1807. Orders in Council. Copenhagen. Heligoland seized.
 5. Peninsula War, 1808–1814.
 - 1808. Rorça. Vimiero. Convention of Cintra.
 - 1809. Corunna. Talavera. (Walcheren Expedition.)
 - 1810. Busaco.
 - 1811. Fuentes d'Onoro. Albuera.
 - 1812. Ciudad Rodrigo. Almaraz. Salamanca.
 - 1813. Vittoria. Battles of the Pyrenees.
 - 1814. Toulouse.
 6. Ministries.
 - 1783–1801. Pitt.
 - 1801–1804. Addington.
 - 1804–1806. Pitt.
 - 1806–1807. Grenville. Ministry of all the Talents.
 - 1807–1809. Portland.
 - 1809–1812. Perceval.
 - 1812–1827. Liverpool.
 7. Colonial Expansion, 1798–1828.
 - (i) India.
 - (a) Wellesley (1798–1805). When Warren Hastings left India, British India included Bengal as far as Allahabad, the Cirkars, Madras and Bombay. The efforts of Wellesley made considerable additions, viz., Orissa, which had been taken from the Marathas; the Carnatic, part of Mysore, some of the North-West Provinces. Further, subsidiary treaties had been made with some of the Maratha states, Oudh and the Nizam.
 - Note the overthrow of Tippoo Sahib. General Harris takes Seringapatam (1799). The Maratha War distinguished by victories of Assaye, Argaum and Laswaree (1803). Delhi taken.
 - (b) Lord Minto. His administration covers no noteworthy expansion. Consolidation.

(c) Lord Hastings (1814-1823).

(i) The Ghurka War. The result was the cession to Britain of a portion of Nepaul, the remainder keeping its independence.

(ii) The Pindari War. The Pindaris were armies of robbers employed by the Marathas for plunder and conquest among neighbouring states. British interference resulted in a war against the Pindaris and Marathas in 1817, which further increased British dominion. British supremacy established over the Peishwa, the nominal head of the Marathas.

(d) Lord Amherst (1823-1828). First Burmese War (1824-1826), which brought us Northern Assam and Arakan. Rangoon taken, 1826.

(e) Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835). Peaceful progress. East India Company's exclusive commercial rights come to an end in 1833.

(ii) General.

Acquisitions during the Wars.

In Europe: Malta and Heligoland.

In America: Trinidad, Tobago, British Guiana.

In Africa: Cape Colony, Ascension, Mauritius.

In Asia: Ceylon, Large additions in India (q.v.).

In Australia: Colonies in New South Wales and Tasmania, with claims to Australia and New Zealand asserted peacefully.

8. Ireland.

1782-1800. Grattan's Parliament. See ante.

1791. Society of United Irishmen formed by Wolfe Tone.

1792-1793. Many Catholic disabilities removed. Catholics were admitted to the legal profession; were given the parliamentary franchise; allowed to hold the lower civil and military offices; to worship; to hold and dispose of property; to educate their children as they pleased.

1796. Hoche's expedition fails.

1798. Rebellion. Vinegar Hill.

1800. Act of Union.

9. Causes of Social Discontent (1815-1820).

(a) The Corn Laws, which were re-organised in 1815. They pressed heavily on the industrial classes, in the interests of the landlords.

(b) Taxation was heavy on account of the wars. Being largely indirect taxation, it inflicted great hardships on the poorer classes.

(c) The Factory System and its attendant evils.

(d) Clamour for parliamentary reform.

Francis Ellis

CHAPTER VI

GEORGE IV. 1820-1830

Born 1762; married, 1795, Caroline of Brunswick.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS :—

France. Louis XVIII (1814-1824).

Charles X (1824-1830).

Spain. Ferdinand VII (1813-1833).

Prussia. Frederick William III (1797-1840).

Cato Street Conspiracy—Queen Caroline—Robert Peel—Huskisson—Canning—The Monroe Doctrine—Navarino—Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts—Daniel O'Connell—Catholic Emancipation.

THE new King was hardly seated on his throne when another flicker of discontent alarmed all men. This was the Cato Street Conspiracy, as dastardly as it was absurd, so called because the conspirators met in a house in Cato Street, London. It arose out of the prevailing agricultural, industrial and political unrest. The leader was an abandoned revolutionary by the name of Arthur Thistlewood, formerly an officer in the army. His chief companions were a deluded set of butchers. Their object was to assassinate every member of the Cabinet at a dinner given by one of the Ministers. The sanguinary plot was betrayed; Thistlewood and four others were taken and hanged, while others were transported for life.

Another inauspicious affair which marred the opening year of the reign and tended to undermine the Liverpool Ministry were the domestic relations of the King. Having previously contracted an illegal marriage with Mrs. FitzHerbert, in 1795, married Caroline of Brunswick on condition that his debts were paid. The marriage was a wretched affair, and Caroline left the country for the Continent, where her improprieties gave rise to considerable scandal. On George's accession she asserted her claim to the title and privileges of Queen of England; and, in spite of an effort to prevent her leaving the Continent, returned to England. The King pressed for a divorce,

**Queen
Caroline.**

Public feeling ran in her favour on account of George's outrageous treatment of her. A "Bill of Pains and Penalties," tantamount to an Act of Divorce, passed the Lords, but was afterwards dropped amid rejoicing. Caroline was refused admission to Westminster Abbey on Coronation Day, July, 1821. In August she died of a broken heart. The revelations, however, were extremely shocking, disclosing a most disgraceful state of morals among the aristocracy.

Under the stress of these events the Ministry was waning perceptibly when an untoward circumstance brought important changes.

In August, 1822, Castlereagh (now Lord Londonderry) committed suicide. We have seen that in foreign

**Suicide of
Castlereagh.**

policy Castlereagh was opposed to the principles of the Holy Alliance. The monarchs who contracted that alliance wished to rule Europe by congresses, which would enable them to act jointly in suppressing popular risings within their dominions. According to them, kings alone were to initiate reforms for the people. Thus risings in Spain and Naples had been crushed by the combined action of the Powers. Castlereagh had refused to take an active part in any such repressive measures. But if he did not countenance the severe and despotic rule of congresses, neither did he countenance revolutions of any kind. Consequently, unjust suspicions took wing in England that he favoured the rule of the Despots. At home, as might have been expected, he was a reactionary Tory, opposed to all reform as tending towards revolution, and treating public opinion with undisguised contempt. It was not surprising, therefore, that his death was hailed with rejoicing by the bulk of the people.

Canning took his place at the Foreign Office, though on the point of setting out for India as Governor-General. He was also leader

of the House of Commons. The Cabinet had now

Robert Peel. been re-constructed. Sir Robert Peel was Home Secretary; Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and, early in 1823, Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade. The Ministry was a mixture of reactionary and progressive Tories. The most brilliant representative of the latter was Canning, and of the former Peel, the son of a Lancashire manufacturer. In 1819 he had resumed cash payments. In other words, he authorised the Bank of England to pay in gold the holders of Bank of England notes, which had been put freely into circulation in the early years of the Revolution. Trade was thus set on a firmer basis. As Home Secretary

he reformed the Criminal Law. According to the law then in force, about two hundred offences, including theft, were punishable by death. The result was that juries refused to convict for a trivial offence which would send the criminal to the gallows, and breaches of the law tended to multiply. Peel abolished the death penalty for more than a hundred crimes. He also laid the foundations of the police system which we have to-day. Hence the term *Bobbies*, which replaced the *Charleys*, as the old watchmen were called. At the same time, he was a vigorous opponent of the two most important questions of the day, viz., Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform.

In the sphere of commerce Huskisson was the most enlightened representative of the spirit of reform. In his first year (1823) as President of the Board of Trade, he considerably modified the Navigation Acts of Cromwell, so that it became possible for foreign ships to bring goods to this country, provided the same facilities were granted British ships in foreign ports. Hence trade, especially between Britain and America, improved rapidly. Import duties on raw silk were reduced so as to encourage silk manufacture. Therefore we produced silk as cheaply, and of as good quality, as foreign countries. The duty on wool was reduced; so also was the import duty on timber, as it was used extensively in other industries. The Act was repealed which enabled magistrates to fix the wages of the Spitalfields workers. Lastly, workmen were allowed to combine in "trades unions" for their own benefit; and to traverse the country in search of work and better wages. These reforms gave a great impetus to trade, especially with the newly revolted Spanish colonies in South America. Many spurious companies were floated. Speculation was encouraged, the abuse of which resulted in a panic, and the failure of many joint-stock companies in 1825-1826. In Huskisson we see revived the liberal and reforming policy of the younger Pitt, so rudely checked by the French Revolution.

The ablest of the progressive Tories, and the most brilliant politician of his day, was Canning. At home he was strongly in favour of Catholic Emancipation, and as strongly opposed to Parliamentary Reform, the only important question on which the Tories were agreed. The champions of reform of Parliament were the Whigs, led by Earl Grey, the versatile Brougham, and Lord John Russell. But Canning's chief attention was given

to foreign affairs. His policy resembled that of Castlereagh, whom he succeeded, in that he was averse to intervene in the affairs of other nations. It was a policy of non-intervention. Yet there was a vital difference between the policies of the two statesmen. For Canning made it perfectly clear to the Despots of the Holy Alliance that Britain would not allow them to trample ruthlessly under foot the constitutional efforts of their people.

In 1823 he recognised the independence of the South American Republics, colonies which had revolted from Spain, the direct

(i) **The** result of which was an increase in our trade with the
Monroe New World. In the same year he was partly instru-
Doctrine, mental in establishing the "Monroe Doctrine," so
1823. called after James Monroe, President of the United States at the time; in which it was stated that America was no longer to be a field for European colonisation, and that Europe must not interfere in the affairs of American communities. "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old," said Canning; meaning that if the Bourbons in France and Spain united, Spain should not have America as well.

In 1826 he interfered successfully in the affairs of Portugal. The Portuguese had set up a liberal constitution. In accordance with the Holy Alliance, France and Spain united to crush it. Thereupon Canning promptly despatched British troops to the mouth of the Tagus, which produced a salutary effect. The troops were not engaged; but the Powers had received a check, and Britain, through Canning, had shown her sincerity in the cause of liberal principles abroad.

His chief stroke of policy was in the cause of Greek independence. In 1821 the Greeks revolted against the Turks, and a few

(iii) **The** years later appealed to Britain for help to establish
Greek their national independence. The Turk devastated
Question. Greece with fire and sword, leaving behind him ruin and bloodshed. Many Englishmen, including Byron the poet, went out to place their services at the disposal of the Greeks in their heroic struggle. Russia, too, in spite of her connection with the Holy Alliance, was prepared to help them, hoping thereby to acquire territory at the expense of the Turk. Canning's interference, therefore, had a twofold result. (i) By the Treaty of London, 1827, between France, Russia and Britain, the Greeks were given practical self-government

Navarino,
1827

under the suzerainty of the Turk,—another proof of Canning's sincere sympathy with the cause of nationality. A few months after his death, the Turk proving obdurate, the combined fleets of the allies sailed into the bay of Navarino. A chance shot from the Turkish fleet struck a British ship. A general engagement ensued, which sent the greater part of the Turkish fleet to the bottom. (ii) His second object had been to check the advance of Russia, who cast hungry glances at Constantinople, and France and Britain combined to bring about the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. It was humiliating enough to the Turk : but Constantinople did not become a Russian outpost. If Canning had lived there would probably have been a more permanent settlement of the Greek question.

To return to home affairs. Early in 1827 Lord Liverpool, who had been Prime Minister since 1812, fell ill. It was his pacific influence alone that had held together the two warring sections of the Tories—the progressive section led by Canning and Huskisson, and the old reactionary Tories by Wellington and Peel. They differed on foreign policy, Wellington once referring to the battle of Navarino as an “untoward event.” They also disagreed on Catholic Emancipation, which had already become the most vital and absorbing question in practical politics. On the resignation of Lord Liverpool, Canning became Prime Minister (April), 1827. Wellington and Peel having refused to form a Ministry; but he died in August. The attempt of Goderich to form a Ministry served but to reveal his unfitness for the task. In January, 1828, therefore, he resigned, whereupon Wellington, Peel and the old Tories came back to office, with Wellington as Prime Minister. Peel became Home Secretary, and Leader of the House of Commons.

The Government, however, included Canningites like Huskisson the Colonial Secretary, and Palmerston, Secretary at War. Wellington's chief merit as a statesman was that, in spite of his extreme Tory prejudices, he agreed to reform rather than allow the country to drift into civil war. His Ministry brought to an end the Tory ascendancy which had begun with the French Revolution. As on the field of battle, he knew when to retreat.

Wellington had opposed Canning's liberal foreign policy, because he distrusted popular government, and had no sympathy with the

**The Tory
Split.**

**(iv) Canning
Prime
Minister,
1827.**

**Duke of
Wellington,
Prime
Minister,
1828-1830.**

aspirations of the peoples in foreign lands. Thus, unlike Canning, he supported Dom Miguel, the usurper of the Portuguese throne, in his reactionary measures. For the same reasons he was consistently opposed to popular clamour at home. Likewise Peel, until he realised the error of his ways. And yet, by a strange paradox, they were immediately called upon to deal with important questions of reform which awaited solution. The first of these was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which was carried on a motion by Lord John Russell. Wellington stubbornly resisted until convinced of the strength of opinion in favour of the repeal. It was true that an annual Indemnity Act had been passed since the time of Walpole, so as to condone those Nonconformists who had accepted office without taking the Sacrament according to the Anglican Church.

The most absorbing question was Catholic Emancipation. The agitation, though it had partly subsided during the wars of the French Revolution, had since been renewed with passion and vigour. During Lord Liverpool's long Ministry it had been allowed to remain an open question, that is, a question on which members of the Cabinet could hold different opinions. In 1821, for instance, a Catholic Relief Bill was allowed to pass the Commons, but was thrown out by the House of Lords. Again in 1825 it passed through the Commons, only to be rejected by the Lords, mainly through the influence of the Duke of York.

Daniel O'Connell.

Meanwhile a Catholic Association had been formed in 1823 through the influence of Daniel O'Connell. His passionate zeal on behalf of his country and his burning eloquence gained for him wonderful influence over the Irish people. He would have no outrages or rebellions. Yet he stirred up the hearts of his people almost to frenzy. The Tories became alarmed. In 1825 the Catholic Association was suppressed for three years. O'Connell formed a new society and the work went on as before.

In 1828 he stood for election as member of Parliament for Clare County. His opponent was Vesey Fitzgerald, an Irish landlord, who had recently been made President of the Board of Trade. O'Connell was returned. Being a Catholic, he could not take his seat. Wellington and Peel became convinced that Ireland was resolved, and, rather than

The Clare Election, 1828.

(i) Removal of Disabilities on Nonconformists, 1828.

(ii) Catholic Emancipation.

provoke civil war, yielded. George IV had said that he would rather lay his head on the block than give his consent to the emancipation of the Catholics. Wellington and Peel threatened to resign, whereupon the King waived his professed conscientious scruples. In March, 1829, a Catholic Relief Bill passed through the Commons, and in April the Lords accepted it. Parliament, however, did not accept the situation with a good grace. For immediately afterwards they disfranchised the small Irish farmer by raising the county franchise in Ireland from the 40s. freeholders to the £10 freeholders. O'Connell being re-elected unopposed, immediately set on foot an agitation for the repeal of the Union as the only satisfactory solution to the Irish problem.

The third question which confronted Wellington and Peel was Parliamentary Reform. The existing system was antiquated. (iii) **Reform of Parliament.** Already in 1821 Grampound, one of the rotten boroughs, had been disfranchised and in its place two members given to Yorkshire. Then, immediately after the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the Canningites, Palmerston and Huskisson, had left the Ministry, chiefly because they wished to disfranchise two other small boroughs in favour of Manchester and Birmingham. The question was already becoming of supreme moment when George IV passed away, in June, 1830.

It has been said of him that he was "a bad son, a bad husband, a bad father, a bad subject, a bad monarch, a bad friend." It was fortunate that he exercised no influence in the government of the country. His morals, however, had a most pernicious influence on the higher ranks of life, and jeopardised the position of the monarchy. He died unwept.

CHIEF DATES.

Cato Street Conspiracy	1820
Navarino	1827
Test and Corporation Acts repealed	1828
Catholic Relief Bill	1829

NOTES.

1. Canning.

Opened his public career as a writer, his attacks on Fox's conciliatory attitude towards the French Revolution being brilliant. No less brilliant as an orator. Strong supporter of Pitt. He was great as a Foreign Minister.

- (a) Home Policy. A Progressive Tory. Favoured Catholic Emancipation. Opposed Parliamentary Reform.
- (b) Foreign Policy. Note how he differed from Castlereagh. Though disinclined to interfere in the affairs of other nations, he was prepared to support the national aspirations of the people, e.g.
 - (i) Recognised the new Republics in Central and South America, which had revolted from Spain (1823).
 - (ii) Supported Portugal, 1826.
 - (iii) Sympathised with the Greeks against the Turks, and formed an alliance with France and Russia for that purpose. Battle of Navarino, October, 1827. Canning had died in August.
- 2. Religious Toleration (nineteenth century). Chief steps:—
 - 1689. Toleration Act, which gave freedom of worship, subject to a declaration against transubstantiation, and of belief in the doctrine of the Trinity. Hence Catholics and Unitarians still outside the pale.
 - 1728-1828. Annual Act of Indemnity.
 - 1828. Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts, which admitted Nonconformists and Catholics to municipal and other offices.
 - 1829. Catholic Emancipation.
 - 1836. Marriage Act, legalising marriages in Nonconformist chapels and in registrars' offices.
 - 1858. Jews admitted to Parliament.
 - 1868. Compulsory payment of Church rates abolished.
 - 1871. Oxford and Cambridge Universities thrown open to Nonconformists.
 - 1880. Burial Laws Amendment Act, which allowed Nonconformists to conduct funeral services in parish churchyards.
- 3. Ministries.
 - 1812-1827. Lord Liverpool.
 - 1827, April-August. Canning.
 - 1827-1828. Goderich.
 - 1828-1830. Wellington.
- 4. Wellington as Statesman.
 - (a) Foreign Policy. It may be summed up in his own words, viz. "Not to interfere in the internal affairs of any country excepting in a case of necessity." The difference between him and Canning was that the Duke, like Castlereagh, was far more moderate, and slow to move. He represented Britain at the Congress of Verona, called to settle the internal affairs of Spain; where also he succeeded in averting war between Russia and Turkey.
 - (b) Home Policy.
 - "What he dreaded was a 'democratic Parliament.' What he failed to see was that a change was coming, if it had not come, over the nation, which made the representative machinery of 1830 incompatible with peaceful national life; and that the pivot of power had begun to shift from land to trade, commerce, and industry, and that the claim of these to share in power could not be denied." Hence, note his attitude towards Parliamentary Reform, Catholic Emancipation, etc.

CHAPTER VII

WILLIAM IV. 1830-1837

Born 1765 ; married, 1818, Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS :—

France. Charles X (1824-1830).

Louis Philippe (1830-1848).

Spain. Ferdinand VII (1813-1833).

Isabella II (1833-1868).

Parliamentary Reform—The Struggle for the Reform Bill—Church Temporalities Act—Abolition of Slavery—National Education—Factory Act—Robert Owen—Poor Law Reform—Municipal Reform—Tithe Commutation Act.

THE death of one king and the accession of another did not affect the urgency of the all-engrossing subject of Parliamentary Reform.

Parliamentary Reform. The old system had worked well in its day. It had produced men of integrity, eloquence and high statesmanship. The system of "pocket" or rotten boroughs enabled a patron to introduce into politics young men of ability and promise. It was thus that Pitt, Fox and Canning first entered Parliament. Further, it had represented the one supreme interest in the country—the agricultural. However, the system was now antiquated. (i) The Industrial Revolution had transferred the weight of opinion from the rich agricultural districts of the south and east to the mining and manufacturing centres in the Midlands, the North, and South Wales. It was her manufactures that had enabled Britain to meet the expenses of the wars against Napoleon. Yet the manufacturing industry had no representation at Westminster. (ii) Large towns had sprung into importance, but remained without representation. The population of Lancashire and Glamorgan had grown rapidly; though their representation did not increase in proportion. Some boroughs had an electorate of one individual, the owner himself; others had an electorate of many thousands. (iii) The prevalence of the "pocket"

borough system lent itself to gross abuse and corruption; for a few aristocratic families, notwithstanding their predominant influence in the House of Lords, had acquired also the right of nominating a large proportion of the members of the House of Commons. (iv) Lastly, the franchise qualification called for drastic change. There was no uniformity; almost every town had its own way of choosing members, though it frequently rested with a close body of persons prepared to sell the representation to the highest bidder. In Wales, as in England in general, the boroughs chose their representatives at the bidding of the local lord.

Yet in spite of anomalies and inequalities, any attempt at reform had been persistently stifled. The landed aristocrats held a mono-

Opposition. poly of government, and had no intention of parting with it. No change could come without striking a mortal blow at this exclusiveness. Indeed, they honestly believed that they alone were born to rule, and even that the system itself was perfect. In the first Parliament of the reign, the Duke of Wellington frankly declared that Parliament needed no reform, a declaration which roused a tempest of passion. His was a conscientious conviction. Others objected to reform as it would inevitably deprive them of the opportunity of giving or receiving bribes.

An impetus was given to reform by events in France, early in the reign. In July, 1830, Charles X, the last of the Bourbon Kings, a reactionary monarch who set his face against constitutional changes, was compelled to abdicate in favour of his cousin, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans.

Without the shedding of blood the dynasty was changed, the new King promising to rule as a constitutional monarch. There were similar movements elsewhere in Europe, the Belgians, for instance, making themselves independent of Holland.

In England, Wellington's ill-timed declaration called forth such a storm of anger, and the activity of the reformers had assumed such unmistakable proportions, that Wellington, having been defeated on a minor issue, resigned (November). Thereupon Lord Grey, the Leader of the

**Louis
Philippe.**
**Ministry of
Lord Grey,
1830.**

Whigs in the House of Lords, and a consistent advocate of reform, became Prime Minister. Palmerston was Foreign Secretary, Melbourne Home Secretary; Charles Wynn of Denbighshire, Secretary at War, who retired on the introduction of the Reform Bill; and

Lord John Russell became Paymaster of the Forces. As far back as 1819 Russell had proposed resolutions in favour of reform, which were rejected. It was his motion, too, that brought about the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. It was fitting, therefore, that the Reform Bill should be entrusted to him.

On March 1, 1831, he introduced his Reform Bill. It passed the second reading by a majority of one (302-301). The Bill

The went into committee, and an amendment was carried
Struggle, against Ministers. The only reasonable course was
1831-1832. to dissolve. Lord Grey was returned by a decisive

majority, swept into power by the popular cry of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." The Bill was re-introduced, passed the third reading by a majority of 109 (345-236), and was sent to the House of Lords. The Lords summarily rejected it on its first reading by 199 to 158, in defiance of Commons and people. The country replied with riots, disturbances, and threats against the "borough-mongers." At Bristol the Mansion House was set on fire; destruction of property became general. In the midst of all Ministers stood at their posts. In December the Bill was introduced for the third time, and again passed the Commons by an overwhelming majority. This time it passed its second reading in the House of Lords, which then proceeded to amend it. The Lords persisted in their furious hostility, and carried a motion adverse to the Bill. Mass meetings were held throughout the country. The language of the mob became abusive and threatening. It seemed as though the torches of revolution would soon be aflame. The loyalty even of the army was in doubt. Lord Grey urged the creation of a sufficient number of peers to secure a majority. William

The Bill IV refused and Lord Grey resigned. Wellington under-
passes, 1832. took to form a new Government, and failed. Grey
was recalled, and the King agreed to create peers if necessary. To prevent the House of Lords from being swamped by new creations, and to avoid a possible civil war, Wellington persuaded the hostile peers to withdraw, thus allowing the Bill to pass. In June the Reform Bill passed the House of Lords by a majority of 84 (106-22).

The Bill disfranchised 56 rotten boroughs, with less than 2,000 inhabitants, returning a total of 111 members; 30 boroughs with less than 4,000 inhabitants were given
The Bill. one instead of two members. Of the 143 seats thus

to be disposed of, 65 were given to the counties, and 78 to the boroughs; 22 boroughs, including Birmingham and Manchester, received two members each; and 21 towns one member each. The number of members for Wales was in-

Wales. creased from 27 to 32; Carmarthenshire, Denbighshire and Glamorganshire each received an additional member. Swansea and Merthyr Tydfil sent members for the first time. Scotland and Ireland received similar treatment, Scotland receiving eight additional members and Ireland five. The borough franchise was given to the £10 householders. The representation of the counties was based on a property qualification: the 40s. freeholders, copyholders of £10 a year, and farmers occupying land rented at £50 a year. In Ireland the 40s. freeholders remained disfranchised, as in 1828.

It was a victory for the middle classes and the manufacturers. The balance of political power was lost to the landed aristocracy, who had held it since 1688; and was transferred geo-

Effect. graphically from the south and east to the north and west. The aristocracy still wielded a preponderating influence in the counties; but in the towns householders paying £10 a year rent controlled the elections. The artisans and the agricultural labourers were still without the franchise. In January, 1833, the first Reformed Parliament met. The Conservatives numbered 172, the Liberals 486. Among the former was William Ewart Gladstone, the son of a Liverpool merchant.

In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was opened. It was a momentous event; for soon a complete network of railways was constructed, which completely revolutionised the

Railways. conditions of industry. The older and more cumbrous means of traffic, such as horse-waggons and barges, were thus superseded by a quicker and more convenient method, by which a greater quantity of goods could be carried in less time and at less cost. This new application of steam was due to the genius of George Stephenson. At the opening Huskisson was knocked down by an engine and killed. At the beginning of the century an American named Fulton had constructed a steamship. In the second year of Queen Victoria's reign the Atlantic was first crossed by a steamship.

Just as the railway opened up a new era in traffic, so the Reform Bill opened a new era in politics. The first efforts of the Reformed Parliament were directed towards the pacification of Ireland.

The Irish had two main grievances: the Union, an agitation for the repeal of which had been started by Daniel O'Connell, and the Anglican Church, which was maintained by tithes collected from the people. The Irish considered it unjust that they, being Catholics, should support an alien Anglican Church. It was with great difficulty, therefore, that the tithes were collected. Riots broke out which frequently ended in crime. Violent political meetings showed with what intense passion the agitation was carried on. To overcome the agitators a Coercion Act was passed, vesting the Lord Lieutenant with exceptional powers. With greater wisdom the Government passed a Church Temporalities Act, by which two Archbishoprics and eight Bishoprics were suppressed: and a Commission was appointed to allot the superfluous revenue, a question which soon gave rise to differences in the Cabinet.

This was followed by an Act for the emancipation of the slaves, passed in August, 1833, but to come into force a year later. Even after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, slaves had been employed on the plantations in the West Indies. Slavery was now abolished throughout the British dominions, the slave-holders being adequately compensated to the extent of £20,000,000. To prevent an abrupt dislocation of industry and educate the slaves to freedom, they were to serve as apprentices for four years. In the same year the first national grant, amounting to £20,000, was made towards education. It was the beginning of a national system of elementary education in Britain.

In 1833, too, the first Factory Act was passed. The introduction of machinery and the growth of factories had resulted in a flagrant abuse of child-labour. Women and children worked excessive hours. It was not uncommon for a child of nine to work eighteen hours a day. And parents found it absolutely imperative to send their children to the "works" to enable the family to eke out a bare livelihood; for wages were low and food dear. By this Factory Act children under nine were not to be employed; while women, and young persons under eighteen, were not to work more than twelve hours.

None strove with greater zeal to improve the pitiable condition of the workmen than Robert Owen, the son of a saddler of Newtown in Montgomeryshire. He was

Reforms.

(i) Ireland,
1833.

(ii) Emanci-
pation of the
Slaves, 1833.

(iii) National
Education.

(iv) The
First
Factory
Act, 1833.

Robert Owen.

the most remarkable reformer of his time, and this first Factory Act was in great measure due to his efforts. He was also one of the earliest founders of trade unions, which have since acquired such vast dimensions. He was the pioneer of social reform in this country. In 1847 Fielden's Act limited the work of women and young persons to ten hours a day.

The next effort of the Government was concentrated on a reform of the Poor Law. The existing system enabled the labourer to claim relief from the parish if his wages were insufficient. The results were twofold. It demoralised the working-man in that it encouraged him to go on the parish; secondly, it encouraged farmers to pay low wages, though what they gained by low wages they lost by having to pay high rates. Henceforth no able-bodied workman was to receive out-door relief. He should go to the workhouse to do work, and the parish, or a combination of parishes, kept a workhouse or "union," for the purpose. The immediate effect was to multiply the distress and hardship of the labouring class, for the Act deprived them of a substantial portion of their means of subsistence, and there was no corresponding increase in their wages. Out of this discontent, partly, arose the Chartist movement.

Meanwhile dissensions had arisen in the Cabinet which brought about Lord Grey's resignation. The chief cause related to Ireland.

The suppression of Irish bishoprics threw funds into the hands of the Government. One section of the Cabinet wished to keep them for ecclesiastical purposes; another section wished to apply them for philanthropic objects. Lord Grey could not keep these two sections in harmony. Secondly, Grey himself was in favour of stringent coercive measures to suppress disorder in Ireland. Therefore, he resigned in favour of Lord Melbourne, who became Prime Minister in July. In November the King suddenly dismissed Melbourne and sent for the Duke of Wellington. Peel was abroad at the time.

In dismissing Melbourne summarily William IV had assumed, wrongly as events proved, that the country had had a surfeit of reforms from the Liberals, and that moderate people were becoming alarmed. Sir Robert Peel, who had reorganised the old Tories under the new name of Conservatives, was certainly gaining ground, and in December formed an Administration. It included Wellington as Foreign

(v) Poor Law Reform, 1834.

Lord Grey resigns, 1834.

Peel's Administration.

Secretary, Aberdeen as War and Colonial Secretary, and W. E. Gladstone as Lord of the Treasury. Peel's triumph was premature. At the General Election the Conservatives gained many seats, but the Liberals were still in a majority of 107. In April, 1835, Lord John Russell carried a motion applying the surplus revenue of the Anglican Church in Ireland to philanthropic purposes (285-258). Peel resigned, and Melbourne became Prime Minister.

His second administration included Lord John Russell as Home Secretary, and Palmerston as Foreign Secretary. Their first

**Melbourne's
Second
Ministry,
1835-1841.**

measure was the Municipal Reform Act. The system of Local Government was as effete and antiquated as Parliamentary representation before the Reform Bill.

**Municipal
Reform,
1835.**

The boroughs were controlled by close corporations, that is, corporations which elected their own members. There were no popular elections. They were grossly corrupt, and flagrantly unrepresentative. The Municipal Corporation Act gave the ratepayers the right to elect the Town Council, which in its turn chose the Mayor and Aldermen.

Popular local government now really begins. It afforded a training in government to men of talent and industry. In this, as in parliamentary reform, the middle classes gained in power.

Another measure of considerable importance to the Anglican Church was the Tithe Commutation Act. At that time tithes,

**Tithe Com-
mutation
Act, 1836.**

an important source of revenue for the Church of England, were collected in kind by the parsons. Sometimes the inconvenience and indignity were obviated by a

composition agreed upon between the parson and the tithe-payer. In either case the payment was most irritating to Nonconformists. The difficulty was overcome by this Act, which made the tithe a rent charge on the land, the amount being determined by the average price of corn during the seven preceding years. The tithe was now made part of the farmer's rent. The same year Melbourne took an important step towards educating the masses

Newspapers.

in current events and popularising government. This he did by reducing the duty on newspapers, the circulation of which was thereby greatly increased; and by securing the publication of the House of Commons' division lists. William IV died in June, 1837. He was a sailor and had the sailor's characteristics, being genial, frank and tolerant.

NOTES.

1. Period of Reform.

The period of Reform begins with George IV. Pitt the younger would have embarked on progress, but was prevented by the French Revolution. The Tory ascendancy, which had begun in 1760, now came to an end, and the Whigs, or Liberals, became supreme. Fox may be said to have kept burning the fire of progress during the dark years of the Revolutionary era, and Liberalism really begins with him.

1832. Reform Bill.

1833. Church Temporalities Act (Ireland). Emancipation of the Slaves. National Elementary Education begins. First Factory Act.

1834. Poor Law Reform.

1835. Municipal Reform Act.

1836. Tithe Commutation Act.

2. Freedom of the Press.

1644. Milton in his *Areopagitica* made a futile appeal to Parliament for the liberty of the Press.

1695. The Licensing Act of 1662 is not renewed, and the censorship of the Press is thereby abolished.

1791. Libel Act of Fox (Charles James) which declared that juries, not the judges as hitherto, were to decide what was a libellous publication. This was an important advance, for the libel laws were very stringent.

1836. The stamp duty of 4*d.* on every full-sized sheet reduced to 1*d.*

The stamp duty had put a prohibitive price on newspapers.

1849. Association formed for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge.

1853. Gladstone removes the duty of 1*s.* 6*d.* on advertisements.

1855. Stamp duty abolished by Gladstone.

1861. Paper duty finally removed.

Note also the importance of Wilkes.

3. Sir Robert Peel.

Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1812-1818. Home Secretary (1822) in Wellington's Ministry, and was the ablest among the reactionary Tories. Resumed cash payments (1819). Reformed the Criminal Law and the Police System. Opposed to Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. However, he recognised the signs of the times, and reorganised the old Tory party under the new name of Conservatives.

1841-1846. Prime Minister.

His chief title to fame now rests on his advocacy of Free Trade, a task in which he was assisted by W. E. Gladstone. Reduced or abolished duties on 750 articles.

1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws.

4. Ministries.

1830-1834. Earl Grey.

1834 (July-December). Lord Melbourne.

1834-1835 (April). Sir Robert Peel.

1835-1841. Lord Melbourne.

5. Palmerston's Foreign Policy (William IV).

His attitude towards the Holy Alliance resembled that of Canning. He wished to counteract it, and therefore, in 1830, he made an alliance with Louis Philippe in France to encourage national aspirations in Europe generally. They helped Belgium to become independent of Holland. In Spain, also, and in Portugal, he took sides against the reactionaries, Don Carlos and Don Miguel, respectively.

His career.—He held minor posts in Tory administrations, 1809–1828. He was a follower of Canning, and joined the Whigs, and afterwards the Liberals. Foreign Secretary 1830–1834; 1835–1841; 1846–1852. Home Secretary 1852–1855; Prime Minister 1855–1858; 1859–1865. In his foreign policy he was always masterful. Hence his dismissal in 1852.

CHAPTER VIII

QUEEN VICTORIA

Born 1819; m., 1840, Albert of Saxe-Coburg; died January 22, 1901.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS :—

<i>France.</i>	Louis Philippe (1830–1848). Second Republic (1848–1852). Napoleon III (1852–1870).
<i>Prussia.</i>	Frederick William III (1797–1840). Frederick William IV (1840–1861). William I (1861–1888).

RULE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES.

Liberals and Conservatives—Chartism—Peel's Ministry—Afghan War—Sikh Wars—Social Legislation—Oxford Movement—Daniel O'Connell—Corn Laws—Disraeli—Russell's Ministry—Palmerston—Gladstone—Crimean War—Far East—Indian Mutiny—American Civil War—Death of Palmerston.

THE young Queen was just eighteen years old when she came to the throne. Her mother had given her an excellent training, not the least important feature of which was the almost austere seclusion in which she had been kept, for the manners of the court of her two uncles were most corrupt. Calm, prudent, self-reliant, she had been taught the value of economy and a systematic life. She took the liveliest interest in the minutest details of the affairs of State, though personal government, as such, came to an end with William IV. To Lord Melbourne she owed her first lessons in her duties as sovereign, a task which he performed with a tact and kindness that endeared him to his royal mistress. One immediate result of her accession may be mentioned. The connexion between Britain and Hanover came to an end, for a woman could not rule in Hanover. Her uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, became sovereign there to the joy of the people of England, for he was rude and profligate. Nor was it to the advantage of Britain to be encumbered with Hanoverian difficulties.

According to what was then the custom of the constitution, a new Parliament was elected at the beginning of the reign. Lord Melbourne was returned to power. His ablest lieutenant was Lord John Russell, the leader of the House of Commons, an effective debater and an enthusiastic pioneer of reform. His party now began to assume the new name "Reformers" or "Liberals," in contradistinction to the term "Conservative," already adopted by the Opposition under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel. The old names of "Whig" and "Tory" gradually dropped out of use.

Liberals and Conservatives.

The Melbourne Ministry had a stormy existence for four years before it came to an unlamented end in 1841. Nevertheless, it witnessed several startling changes which ushered in a reign of extraordinary progress. In 1837 Mr. Rowland Hill propounded a far-reaching scheme of reform in our postal system, which found immediate and widespread support. The Government, which at first feared that its adoption would involve considerable loss of revenue, ultimately introduced the scheme of a uniform penny postage within the United Kingdom. It was profitable to the Exchequer, and of immense public convenience. Previously it had cost about 8*d.* to send a letter from Cardiff to Swansea.

The Penny Postage, 1840.

The reign opened with the grim disturbances connected with the Chartist agitation. The causes were partly social, partly political.

Chartism : Causes.

(i) Bread was dear, wages were low, the labouring classes were overworked ; while the Poor Law of 1834, by checking outdoor relief, aggravated the hideous misery in which the poor passed their existence. (ii) The Reform Bill of 1832, while it benefited the manufacturer and the merchant, did not confer the franchise upon the masses of toilers by whose efforts largely it had been carried in the teeth of a fierce opposition. When, therefore, Lord John Russell declared that he had no intention of proceeding further in the direction of parliamentary reform, the more ardent Radicals regarded his declaration as a great betrayal ; and a genuine conviction spread among the working classes that they were being exploited for the benefit of the rich.

In July, 1838, when the gorgeous splendour of the coronation festivities was still vivid in the memory, the agitators formulated their demands at a meeting held in Birmingham. The manifesto

came to be called the People's Charter. It contained six "points": manhood suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, abolition of the property qualification for members of Parliament, payment of members, and division of the country into equal electoral districts. Underlying these demands was the belief that political changes would improve their social welfare, and give them higher wages and better food. Public meetings were held, the fury of the mob increased; but the more impassioned and vehement the language of the Chartist leaders became, the more obstinate became the hostility of the ruling classes. Some of the agitators advocated resort to force—these were the Physical Force Chartists; others would not go beyond the limits of lawful agitation—these were the Moral Force Chartists.

The agitation soon blazed forth in riots. The most formidable of these was in Wales, in 1839, where the torch of political ideals fired the explosive temperament of an imaginative people.

**The Riots
in Wales.**

The leader was John Frost, a Newport magistrate.

His plan was to assemble 20,000 working men from Merthyr-Tydfil, Dowlais and the industrial centres of the hill districts of South Wales, march into Newport and take possession of the town. The Mayor, who had become aware of the plan, stationed a number of soldiers in the Westgate Hotel, so that the mob, when they attempted to storm the building, were fired upon. The rioters dispersed, though not before blood had been shed. Frost was arrested, and sent into penal servitude for life. There were similar disturbances of a less serious nature at Llanidloes, in Montgomeryshire, and in Birmingham. But all such efforts ended disastrously. (See Ch. X.)

The shadow of Chartism hung over the country for several years afterwards, until, in 1848, it finally vanished before the agitation

**End of
Chartism,
1848.**

for the repeal of the corn laws. In that year it was decided to present to Parliament a monster petition demanding the Charter. The demand was to be

backed on April 10 by a huge procession to Westminster, whither many of the most violent agitators would have gone in arms had they not been dissuaded by the influence of their leader, Feargus O'Connor. For the moment London was terrified by exaggerated rumours of riots. But the affair degenerated into a ludicrous fiasco, while the petition was found to contain numerous fictitious signatures.

Another difficulty which clouded Lord Melbourne's administration had reference to Canada. In 1791 that country had been divided into Upper and Lower Canada. Dissatisfied with its constitution and with the arbitrary conduct of its Governor, Lower Canada, which was predominantly French, talked wildly of independence. This led to the imprisonment of some and the transportation of other prominent Canadians. Insurrection followed, accompanied by some bloodshed and much bad feeling. In 1838 Lord Durham proceeded to Canada on behalf of the Government. Autocratic, uncompromising, though a whole-hearted reformer, he issued ordinances which firmly suppressed lawlessness. Complaints of his arbitrary conduct reached England. They were taken up with vigour by the versatile and gifted Lord Brougham, who, having been abandoned by the Whigs in 1835, had become a fierce opponent of Melbourne's Government. Thereupon Lord Durham resigned. His masterly proposals for the better government of Canada were adopted in 1840, the two divisions of Canada being united under a single Legislature. His scheme of self-government was subsequently applied to other colonies with the happiest results. It has been said of him that "he made a country and marred a career."

While these events were in progress a dispute with China demanded attention. China forbade the trade in opium as being detrimental to the moral and physical welfare of her people. Nevertheless, when, on the expiration of its Charter in 1834, the trading monopoly of the East India Company ceased, private merchants carried on a vast amount of illicit trade in the drug. The Chinese Government, having strong reasons to believe that the British authorities at Canton connived at such breaches of the law, forfeited large quantities of the forbidden article. This led to an unjustifiable war, and a series of easy victories which convinced the helpless Chinaman that resistance was futile. By the Peace of Nanking the British Government obtained a large indemnity, the cession of Hongkong, and the right of trading in Canton, Shanghai, and a few other Chinese ports.

The Melbourne Ministry had already sustained virtual defeat on a question concerning Jamaica. The Jamaican Assembly refused to accept a decree of the Imperial Government relative to prison regulations, a defiance of authority which resulted in a proposal for the suspension of constitutional govern-

**The China
War, 1839-
1842.**

Jamaica.

ment in the island for five years. The bill provoked so much hostility that Melbourne's majority was reduced to five on the second reading. The Ministry resigned, and the Queen sent for Peel.

Then occurred what was known as the Bedchamber question. Before he would take office, Peel insisted on the removal of two of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, who, he believed, would endeavour to thwart his Irish policy, for one of the ladies was the wife of the late Lord-Lieutenant, the other the sister of the Irish Secretary. Her Majesty was not placed in a position to appreciate the necessity of such a change in her household arrangements, and Melbourne returned to office, though not without suffering much humiliation in public esteem.

Early in the following year the Queen married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Young, handsome, accomplished, he took a keen interest in whatever pertained to the welfare of his adopted country. His position was a delicate one, which the Whigs and Tories did not endeavour to make less difficult. Yet he played his part with rare ability and prudence, unofficially advising the Queen, and advocating necessary reforms. One reform intimately associated with his name was the abolition of the barbarous practice of duelling.

Meanwhile the limp, self-satisfied Ministry continued its ignoble existence, in spite of frequent rebuffs. Nevertheless, it could place a few notable reforms to its credit. Mention has already been made of the Penny Postage. About the same time a Committee of Council was appointed to deal with elementary education. It was the beginning of the present Board of Education, which controls our national educational system. In 1840 a Municipal Bill for Ireland became law. It abolished about sixty corporations, and reconstituted others.

At last, in June, 1841, Peel carried a vote of want of confidence by a majority of one. Melbourne resigned. The causes of his fall

were manifold. (i) His ministry remained inert and without convictions, while the Liberals clamoured for further reforms. (ii) It revealed much incapacity in its finance, while there was general confidence in the financial ability of Peel. (iii) The agricultural interest feared lest the Government would succumb to the agitation for the repeal of the corn laws. At the general election, which now

The Bedchamber Question, 1839.

Prince Albert.

Reforms.

Fall of the Melbourne Ministry, 1841.

took place, Peel was returned with a powerful majority. Lord Aberdeen became Foreign Secretary in the new administration; Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor; Sir James Graham, Home Secretary; Lord Stanley, Colonial Secretary; and Mr. W. E. Gladstone began his wonderful career, as Vice-President of the Board of Trade.

No sooner were the new Ministers installed in office than the north-west frontier of India called for attention. Lord Auckland

**Afghan War,
1840-1842.**

was Governor at the time (1836-1842). The ruler at Cabul was Dost Mahomed, a usurper. Shah Soojah, the last representative of the old line of kings, was a poor despised exile in India. Auckland conceived an unfortunate belief that Dost Mahomed was a treacherous schemer who encouraged Russian designs on India. A British force which was despatched to Cabul dethroned Dost Mahomed, and placed on his throne Shah Soojah, who was received by his people with disdainful silence. It was necessary to leave an army at Cabul to maintain him in power. In November, 1841, the Afghans rose in insurrection under the perfidious Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mahomed. British arms having suffered a reverse, the credulous Macnaghten, who was in command, entered into a dishonourable treaty by which the British were to retire from Cabul. The retreat took place in the depths of a cruel winter, through the dark, grim pass of Koord Cabul. About 16,000 warriors and camp-followers started on the fateful journey. The sequel was a tale of horrors. Some were hacked by the knives of savages; many of the women and children were taken prisoners; hundreds died of cold and hunger; the remainder were caught in a trap at the end of the pass and slaughtered. One man only reached Jellalabad.

Among those who distinguished themselves at this time in India was General Nott, a native of Neath. In 1839 he was in command of the troops in the Scinde and lower Afghanistan.

General Nott.

When the insurrection broke out at Cabul his headquarters were at Candahar, where he overcame a large force of natives in 1842 (January), and again in March. He was then ordered to withdraw from Candahar; but having inflicted a severe defeat on Akbar Khan (May), he was ordered to advance on Cabul. In August he set out on his adventurous march with about 5,000 men. Having once more put the natives to rout, he reached the important fortress of Ghuznee on September 6. Another desperate,

though unsuccessful, attempt was made to intercept his march at the defiles of Mydan. On September 17 he joined General Pollock at Cabul. For his brilliant march he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament.

In 1842 Lord Ellenborough had succeeded the unfortunate Auckland. General Pollock immediately forced his way through the Khyber Pass. In September, 1842, he entered Cabul; British prisoners were recovered, and Dost Mahomed restored, 1842. was restored. Next year we were at war with the Ameers of Sindh. The native chieftains were defeated at Meeanee on the Lower Indus, by Sir Charles Napier, a victory which was followed by the annexation of that district to the Bombay Presidency. This proved the beginning of trouble with the Sikhs.

The Sikh Wars followed close on the heels of the appalling disaster in Afghanistan. Runjeet Singh was a daring, unscrupulous adventurer who had become master of the Punjab.

During the Afghan War he was an ally of Britain. By the time of his death in 1839 he had organised the Sikhs of the Punjab—warlike Hindoo devotees—into a formidable fighting force. The Afghan war had already revealed to the Sikhs that British power was not altogether invulnerable. They may also have been alarmed at the subsequent advance of British arms under Sir Charles Napier. However, in 1845 they made bold to try conclusions with the British army. A desperate war ensued, in which the brave Sikhs displayed extraordinary valour. Fortunately Sir Hugh Gough, though rash, was possessed of military skill. The Sikhs, having been defeated at Moodkee in 1845, and at Aliwal and Sobraon in 1846, lost their independence. Lahore received an English resident in the person of Henry Lawrence, while the son of Runjeet Singh was proclaimed nominal ruler.

The Sikhs bore their subjection with impatience. In 1848 some British officers were murdered, and the tragedy was followed by a widespread revolt, in which the Afghans were once more arrayed against us. The recklessness of Gough resulted in an enormous disaster at Chillianwallah (1849), though the defeat was fully retrieved at Goojerat. The Afghans were driven headlong into their own country, the Sikhs were crushed, and the Punjab was annexed. In 1852 we entered on the Second Burmese War, which resulted in further extensive

annexations in Lower Burma, including Rangoon, an important trading centre.

The Governor-General at the time was Lord Dalhousie (1847-1856), a man of commanding talents, whose energy was not confined to warfare. Railways and roads were made. The cheap postage and the electric telegraph were introduced. The natives began to receive the advantages of a great educational system. Barbarous customs were put down with a vigorous hand. Such was the Suttee, a savage custom according to which widows were burned on the funeral pyre of their husbands; and the Thuggee, a system by which large numbers of children belonging to a certain caste called the "Thugs," were murdered annually. These events tended to make the natives less warlike. The Sikhs in particular settled down in peaceful submission, and proved loyal in time of great stress during the Indian Mutiny.

Foreign affairs presented other difficulties during Peel's administration. A dispute having arisen between Britain and America with regard to the boundary of Canada, Lord Aberdeen in 1842 concluded with the United States the Ashburton Treaty which settled the question. Yet, in 1845, another dispute arose respecting the boundary of Oregon. War was happily avoided by the Oregon treaty in 1846, which gave Britain the island of Vancouver and freedom of navigation on the Columbia river.

The Chartist movement had helped to reveal the miserable condition of the workers in the industrial centres, one of the worst features of which was the employment of young girls in coal mines. A Commission having brought to light an infamous condition of things, Lord Ashley, in 1842, secured the passing of an Act which put an end to the employment of women and girls in mines and collieries. Two years later he brought in a Factories Act which reduced the number of working hours for children under thirteen years of age to six and a half hours a day, and gave increased facilities for the education of poor children.

The only means which the workers had of securing reform were the Trades Unions, but laws against Trades Unionism and friendly societies at this period were cruelly harsh and repressive. The working men were little better

**Lord
Dalhousie.**

**England and
America,
1842-1846.**

**Social
Legislation,
1842-1844.**

**Co-operative
Societies.**

than the slaves of society. To ameliorate their own condition a number of Rochdale flannel weavers, about 1844, following the principles marked out by the Welsh philanthropist, Robert Owen, formed a co-operative store with the object of supplying each other with food, clothing, and other necessities, and dividing the profits of the establishment. The venture proved surprisingly profitable, and its remarkable success brought numerous other co-operative societies into existence.

Peel's administration witnessed some interesting developments in the world of religion. In the time of the Georges the Church of England had fallen on evil days. Its dignitaries had no loftier ideal than the acquisition of fat livings for themselves and their relatives. That the laity

The Oxford Movement.

had relapsed into a deplorable slough of lethargy was a natural consequence. In 1833 a group of Oxford scholars, chief among whom were Keble, Newman, Pusey and Isaac Williams, had entered upon a movement the object of which was to quicken the Church with new life and higher ideals. This was the Oxford Movement. Let it be said, too, that the movement had its material aspect, the maintenance of the privileges of the Church against Nonconformity and Catholicism.

Better to educate the laity in the doctrines of the Anglican Church, a Tractarian movement was set on foot, which resulted in the publication of numerous tracts. Of these the most famous was Tract "No. 90," written in 1841 by Dr. John Henry Newman, one of the most transcendent intellects of his day. Its Roman Catholic tendencies were so pronounced that Newman was censured. Soon afterwards he went over to the Church of Rome. Another of the scholarly band, the devout Dr. Keble, endeavoured to infuse greater piety into the lives of the clergy; while Dr. Pusey founded a new school of religious thought, which endeavoured to introduce some of the mysticism of the Church of Rome into the ritual of the Church of England.

"No. 90" of Tracts for the Times.

The Scottish Church, like the Church of England, was controlled by the State. Patrons appointed the clergy without reference to the congregations, and the courts of law could enforce the choice. Dr. Chalmers, the most eloquent preacher in the Scotch Church, regarded this connection between Church and State as contrary to the teaching of Scripture.

Free Church of Scotland.

Accompanied by about 500 other ministers of heroic resolution, he left the Scotch Church in 1843. This body became the Free Church of Scotland. Peel had refused to introduce legislation which would sever the old Church from the shackles of State control.

Peel, like the rest of the Prime Ministers of the reign, found Ireland a troublesome thorn. The grant of Catholic emancipation

**Peel and
Ireland.**

had been followed closely by an agitation for the repeal of the obnoxious Union. The soul of the agitation was Daniel O'Connell, whose torrential eloquence led to the founding of the Repeal Association. In 1842 he founded a party for whom he procured seats in the House of Commons with the sole object of urging forward the Repeal of the Union. His own people he swayed as with the wand of magic, so that the English authorities at Dublin took fright. On October 8, 1843, a vast concourse of people was to assemble at Clontarf, near Dublin. The Lord Lieutenant prohibited it on the grounds

**Daniel
O'Connell.**

that its object was to procure the repeal of the union by force of arms. As a matter of fact no agitator ever employed more peaceful methods than O'Connell. He was arrested and found guilty of exciting disaffection. The judgment was reversed by the House of Lords in May, 1844. O'Connell's health began to fail, and whilst on a pilgrimage to Rome he died at Genoa in 1847.

Peel was not totally indifferent to the affairs of Ireland. In 1844 he appointed a Commission to inquire into the land question which

**Maynooth
Grant, 1845.**

he believed was the cancer which made the island so restless. In other respects also his views were broad and tolerant. In 1845 he aroused a fierce clamour among bigoted ecclesiastics by his Maynooth Act, which gave additional grants to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. He carried his measure only with the help of the Liberals. Mr. Gladstone, President of the Board of Trade in Peel's Ministry, resigned on the grounds that he had previously written a book which expressed a view inconsistent with the measure. Gladstone, however, gave unqualified support to Peel's proposal to establish three Queen's Colleges, one at Belfast, another at Cork, and a third at Galway. These three colleges were to constitute the new Queen's University, the distinctive feature of which was that the education was to be secular only, so that Catholics and Protestants could be taught side by side.

The most momentous event in Peel's career was the Repeal of the Corn Laws. The principle underlying the Corn Laws of 1815 was that wheat was grown for the sole benefit of the landowner; that the toiler in the factory had no right to cheap bread. The Reform Bill of 1832 was the first effective blow at the system. It gave a powerful voice in Parliament to manufacturers, whose interest it was that food should be cheap. Moreover Peel, himself the son of a Lancashire manufacturer, was strongly in favour of Free Trade. In his Budget of 1842 he reduced or abolished the custom-house duties on 750 articles in ordinary use, making up for the deficit by a tax on income, sounder and certainly more equitable finance. In his free trade reforms Peel was ably assisted by Mr. Gladstone.

With the phenomenal development of our manufacturing industries the town population increased at a rapid pace. Consequently the demand for cheap bread, almost the only article of food consumed by the working classes, became more imperative. In 1838 an Anti-Corn Law League came into being, with its headquarters at Manchester. Soon it became a great power, having branches in every part of the country. The leader of the movement in Parliament was Mr. Charles Villiers, who for many years had laboured on behalf of the repeal, without much apparent result. Richard Cobden and John Bright were the men who made it a vital question in politics, the one by his earnestness, his incisive logic, his persuasive eloquence; the other by a calm, lucid, penetrating style of speaking to which a massive and dignified frame lent weight.

An unforeseen event brought the question to a crisis. In 1845 the grim spectre of famine traversed Ireland. The potato crop—the staple food of the Irish peasant—was rotting; whilst England itself was threatened with bad harvests. Peel summoned his Cabinet to devise some means of combating the famine; but when he found that he could not carry his colleagues with him in repealing the Corn Laws, he resigned. Lord John Russell, who shortly before had made a public declaration announcing his adherence to the principle of free-trade in corn, failed to form an alternative Ministry. Peel was recalled. Lord Stanley would not join, and Mr. Gladstone took his place as Secretary of State for the Colonies. On the re-assembling of Parliament in January, 1846, Peel announced that

The Corn Laws.

Anti-Corn Law League.

The Struggle.

he, too, had been converted to the views of the Anti-Corn Law League, and to the general principle of Free Trade in manufactures.

The Repeal, 1846. He therefore proposed a duty of 10s. a quarter on corn when the price was less than 48s. a quarter, the duty to be reduced as the price rose. At the end of three years all duties on grain were to be abolished. The Bill passed through the House of Commons in May by a majority of 98, with the help of the Liberals. In June it was accepted by the House of Lords and became law.

Hard-headed Tories could not forgive what they considered a gross betrayal of their interests by Peel. Ireland brought them their opportunity for revenge. The horrors of famine had so increased the amount of crime in that country that Peel was constrained to introduce a Coercion Bill. The division on the second reading was taken in the House of Commons on June 25, the very day on which the Repeal of the Corn Laws passed the House of Lords. The Protectionist Tories, animated by virulent hostility against the Prime Minister, went into the division lobby with the Liberals. Peel was left in a minority of 73. He fell at the moment of his greatest triumph. Four years later he died, on July 2, 1850.

The landed interest had already found their champion in Mr. Disraeli, a remarkably clever writer who, starting his political career as a Radical, ultimately found scope for his ambition in upholding the existing order of things. His pungent wit made him a formidable adversary in debate. In the course of the Corn Law debates he gave expression to the pent-up wrath of the Tory squires in a fierce onslaught on Peel, who, he said, had caught the Whigs bathing and run away with their clothes. It was his uncompromising attitude on this question that marked him out as the leader of the Protectionist Party.

On the defeat of Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell was summoned to form an administration. The chief man in the Cabinet, the Prime Minister apart, was the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston. Lord Grey became Secretary for the Colonies. The first question which absorbed the attention of the new Ministry concerned Ireland.

According to the cottier system which existed in Ireland, the peasant, in return for services to his landlord, was given a small patch of land—his potato-patch. When the potato rotted, as in

these years of famine (1845-1847), the peasant came face to face with starvation. Contributions poured in, relief works were established; but nothing could prevail against the hideous ravages of dysentery and disease. So

**Rebellion
in Ireland.**

appalling was the devastation that Ireland lost one-fourth of its population of eight millions through starvation, or emigration to America. Such misery provided rich soil for the seeds of revolution. In 1847 a Young Ireland party was formed, one of whose leaders was Smith O'Brien, a man of aristocratic rank. In 1848, the year of the last Chartist disturbance in England and of revolutionary movements abroad, the Young Ireland party assumed a rebellious aspect. Mitchell was the most militant of the revolutionaries. The desperate fury of the agitators provoked the passing of a bill against seditious writings which resulted in the suppression of the *United Irishman*, the revolutionary organ. Mitchell was arrested, found guilty, and sentenced to transportation. A rebellion followed, in which a few misguided peasants were shot down. When Smith O'Brien was similarly condemned, Ireland once more resigned itself to sullen despair.

The Government made an effort to place the landed system of Ireland on a sounder economical basis in 1849, by passing the **Encumbered Estates Act, 1849.** Encumbered Estates Act, which created large farms out of the small holdings of the cottier system. Unfortunately, the large estates fell into the hands of an English landlord class who had little sympathy with the Irish. The act was greatly in the interests of the landlords, for the tenants who had introduced permanent improvements were not compensated on ejection. Moreover, so many of the peasants were evicted that the English name became an object of bitter hatred to the Irish.

In the same year the Government granted Parliamentary institutions to our Australian colonies. South Australia had been founded in 1836, with Adelaide as its capital. In **Australia.** order to facilitate the expansion of trade with distant colonies as well as foreign lands, the Navigation Laws were repealed, which enabled merchants to employ foreign ships and foreign sailors.

The Government showed considerable vacillation in its treatment of the Ecclesiastical Bill in 1851. The conviction that the Church of Rome was gaining ground in England led the Pope to issue

a papal bull dividing England into dioceses, with Cardinal Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster. The proposal Ecclesiastical Titles Act, 1851, called forth such a bitter controversy that Lord Russell felt it incumbent upon him to bring in a bill to allay Protestant fears. During its progress the Government was defeated on several occasions. Ultimately, after fierce wrangling, the bill became law in a mutilated form, though it was never enforced.

Bitter strife among the Tories alone kept the weak Ministry in office. Early in 1851, the Ministerialists having been defeated on a mild proposal of reform, viz., to assimilate county and borough franchise, Russell tendered his resignation. Lord Stanley failed to form an alternative Government, whereupon Lord Russell and his colleagues remained in office.

The year of 1851 was noted for the Great Exhibition which was opened in Hyde Park on May 1. This project of exhibiting the world's industry was conceived by the Prince Consort, who was appointed President. It was at first feared that in such unsettled times a large concourse of people might give an opportunity for revolutionary movements. But the Exhibition—the first of its kind—was a great success. The building in which it was held still exists as the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, not far from London.

The most assertive member of the Cabinet was Lord Palmerston. Quick at forming a judgment, he was impatient with more deliberate minds. This often led him to send foreign despatches without consulting Queen or colleagues, a course which brought friction, and ultimately a catastrophe. His first trouble was with France. King Louis Philippe conceived an audacious project of marrying his son, the Duke of Montpensier, to the Queen of Spain. This, which would have brought France and Spain under the influence of one monarch, was checked. Then, contrary to a promise he had already made to the British Government, the French King arranged a marriage between his son and the Spanish Queen's sister, the Queen herself marrying her cousin, the Duke of Cadiz. Louis Philippe's not unfounded hope was that the Queen would not have an heir, but in this he was disappointed. Nevertheless, his outrageous breach of faith caused much ill-feeling between Britain and France. Soon afterwards, in

1848, a revolution in France sent him to England, a fugitive, for France had become a Republic.

An odd incident, in 1850, stamped Palmerston as pre-eminent among his contemporaries. Don Pacifico was a Mediterranean Jew and a British subject living at Athens. His house having been sacked during a riot, he demanded exorbitant compensation from the Greek Government.

(ii) **Don Pacifico.**

His demand being refused, the matter was referred to France for arbitration. Meanwhile, Palmerston sent the fleet to Greek waters. Some Greek vessels were seized, which caused France to withdraw her ambassador from London. Palmerston was arraigned by the House of Commons for his conduct, but triumphed after a wonderfully impressive speech which lasted five hours.

Already, in 1849, his dictatorial temper and his persistent practice of acting independently had called forth a severe rebuke from the

Fall of Palmerston Dec., 1851.

Queen. This cloud passed over. Two years afterwards events took a dramatic turn. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon, who had lived in England for some years, crossed the Channel on the establishment of the new French Republic. Then he succeeded in being made President, which gave him the control of the army. In December, 1851, to the wild astonishment of Europe, he struck down his opponents with murderous violence, and by a *coup d'état* established a military despotism, with himself as Prince President. In a private conversation with the French ambassador, Palmerston gave his unqualified approval to these convulsions, to the equally unqualified disgust of the Queen. Lord John Russell also resented his colleague's imperious conduct. Palmerston, therefore, resigned, his place being taken by Lord Granville. On account of his sympathy with liberal movements throughout Europe, Palmerston's fall was taken as an indication that Britain would no longer support popular movements abroad.

His revenge came soon. He left the Foreign Office in December ; in the following February Lord John Russell's Ministry was no more.

Fall of Lord John Russell Feb., 1852.

Louis Napoleon advanced from Prince President to Emperor Napoleon III. There was a well-grounded fear in Britain that he would try to imitate the deeds of the great Emperor of that name. At any rate, war with France did not seem remote. Consequently, the Government brought in a Bill to reorganise the militia which was in a sad state of inefficiency.

The Bill was found to be inadequate, and Palmerston carried an amendment to one of its clauses by a majority of eleven. Lord John Russell thereupon resigned.

Lord Derby (formerly Lord Stanley) was called upon to form an administration. Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. Apart from these two statesmen and the Lord Chancellor, the Ministry was so devoid of talent that some one cruelly jested that it consisted of three men and a half. Gladstone and the Peelites held aloof. Lord Derby remained in office on sufferance, for he did not command a party majority. The benefits of Free Trade had already become so obvious that Disraeli, who had leapt into prominence by his robust advocacy of Protection, did not now wish to revert to its principles. Protection was gone. Nevertheless, it was realised that he must do something to pacify the country farmers, who were his chief supporters. Accordingly in his financial statement he proposed to reduce the malt duties and make up the deficit by doubling the house duty, thus sacrificing the town population to the farmers. Gladstone denounced the proposal with such vehemence that the Government were beaten by nineteen (305-286).

Derby was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Aberdeen, who formed a Coalition Ministry of Peelites and Liberals. The former were represented by Aberdeen, Gladstone (Chancellor of the Exchequer), Sidney Herbert (War Secretary), and Newcastle (Colonial Secretary); the latter by Lord John Russell (Foreign Secretary), and Palmerston (Home Secretary).

The most interesting personality in the new Government was Mr. Gladstone. The son of a Liverpool merchant, Sir John Gladstone, he entered Parliament at an early age through the influence of the Duke of Newcastle. He at once attached himself to Sir Robert Peel, whom he followed in renouncing Protection. His chief characteristics were intense seriousness of purpose, an inexhaustible wealth of language and illustration, and an exquisite voice. With these qualities he rose to be one of the greatest orators, as he was one of the greatest financiers, of his or of any other time. He was a terrible adversary in debate. In his budgets he showed wonderful capacity for figures, and a happy faculty of lending charm to a dull subject. A staunch Free Trader, he immediately set himself further to remove duties on

imports, and in 1853 imposed a succession duty on inheritance to real property.

The new administration was no sooner installed in office than it came face to face with a grave, unexpected European catastrophe — the Crimean War. It is necessary to distinguish the

The Crimean War, 1854-6. three-fold aspect of the circumstances which brought it about. In the first place, it was firmly believed by

statesmen in Britain that Russia was striving craftily to get possession of Constantinople. This was not a remote possibility, for the

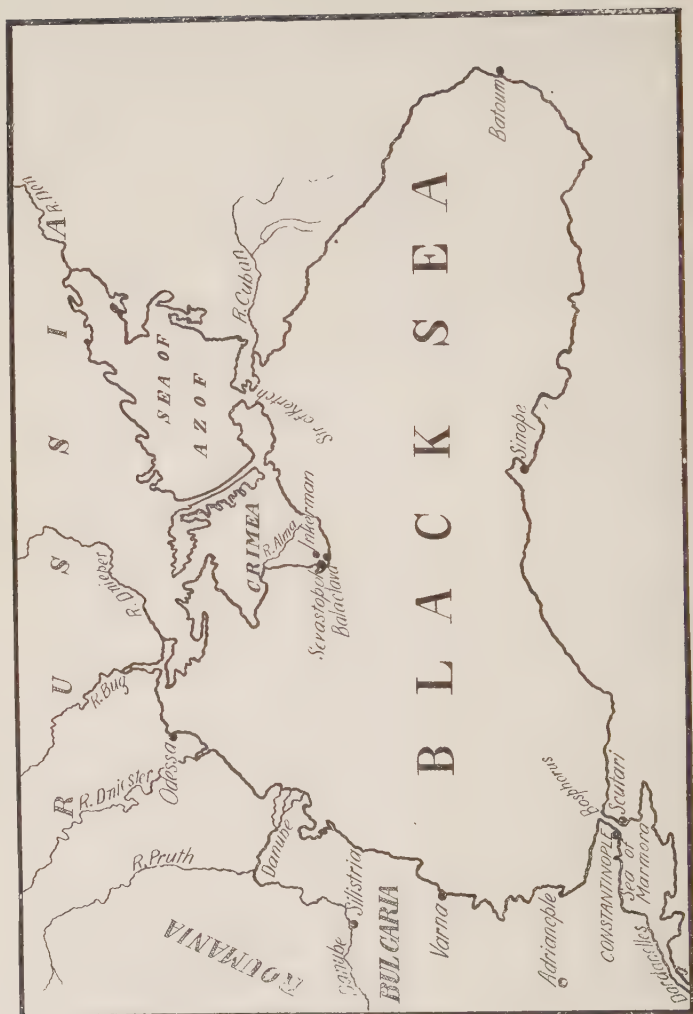
Causes : Turkish Empire was thought to be in a state of rapid decline. Convinced that its collapse was imminent, the Czar was anxious to secure the co-operation of

(i) England and Russia. Britain by pursuing a joint policy, and, when in England in 1844, gave free expression to his wish in conversation with Lord Aberdeen, then Foreign Secretary. The British Government at the time failed to make it clear to the Czar that we could not regard with indifference a policy of Russian aggrandisement at the expense of the Turk ; for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was bound up with our security in India, where also Russia intrigued against us. Now that Lord Aberdeen was Prime Minister the Czar renewed his efforts to get Britain to act with him as regards Turkey. But the Government refused to countenance the idea of spoliation. Secondly, there was a dispute between Russia and France about the guardianship of the Holy Places in Palestine. The Greek Church, supported by Russia, claimed to guard them. The claim was disputed by the Latin Church, supported by France. Disputes became more menacing when Louis Napoleon became Emperor of France (Dec., 1852). He wished to signalise his accession by a triumph over Russia.

Lastly, Turkey contained a large Christian population of the Greek faith, to which the Russians belonged. By an unjustifiable

(iii) Russia and Turkey. interpretation of certain clauses in the Treaty of Kainardji (between Catharine of Russia and the

Turk, 1774) the Czar claimed the right to protect this Christian population, the acknowledgment of which would have given Russia an effective protectorate over a large part of European Turkey. The dispute about the Holy Places was settled without difficulty. Then Russia submitted her proposals regarding the Christians of Turkey, with a peremptory demand for compliance. The Porte or Turkish Government refused. An attempt at



mediation failed, for the Czar refused to modify his proposals.

In July, 1853, the Russian army occupied the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia. A few months later the Turkish

The War. fleet was destroyed at Sinope (Nov.). Thereupon the fleets of France and Britain steamed into the Black Sea. Early in 1854 an ultimatum was sent by the two allies to St. Petersburg, and the Crimean War began. Public feeling in Britain applauded it. The Cabinet was divided: Gladstone was lukewarm in his support; Palmerston was eager for strenuous action, for he feared that if Russia, by defeating Turkey, obtained possession of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, the Black Sea would be closed to British ships.

The English forces were placed under the command of Lord Raglan. Marshal St. Arnaud was entrusted with the leadership of the French. The allies first landed at Varna on the

Alma, Sept., 1854. western coast of the Black Sea, and the Russians, who had invaded those parts, consequently retired. Thence

the Allies were shipped to the Crimea, where they disembarked unopposed, at Kalamita Bay (Sept. 14, 1854). Marching southwards on the strong Russian fortress of Sebastopol, their advance was contested at the little river Alma. After a stubborn resistance the Russians retired, beaten.

Sebastopol was then besieged by land and sea. During the siege two great battles were fought, the first of which, Balaclava, will ever be memorable for the charge of the Light Brigade.

Balaclava, Oct. 25. They were sent into action through a blunder. Captain Henry Morgan, afterwards Lord Tredegar, took part

in that magnificent charge. His brigade advanced towards the Russian guns, which were three-quarters of a mile away, in face of a thick shower of shell, shot and grape, horses and men being killed at every step. The Russian cavalry retreated, and the guns were taken. Too few to hold their prize, the Light Brigade were compelled to cut their way back again. The slaughter was appalling. Of 607 men who went into action only 198 returned. On November 5, the Russians attacked again, but only to be repulsed, at the

Inkerman, Nov. 5. Battle of Inkerman, the severest during the war. The soldiers suffered untold hardships during that winter siege. After repeated bombardments Sebastopol was evacuated by the Russians in September, 1855. In the

following March peace was signed at Paris. All conquests were to be restored ; the Sultan agreed to respect his Christian subjects ; Sebastopol was not to be re-fortified ; the Black Sea was thrown open to the commerce of all nations, but no large warships were allowed to navigate its waters or to be allowed to pass through the Dardanelles : The navigation of the Danube was to be free. The integrity of Turkey was guaranteed.

While these events were in progress the Ministry had undergone a complete change. The winter of 1854 had been one of almost unexampled severity, bringing intense suffering to the soldiers in the trenches around Sebastopol. Bad hospital arrangements and gross mismanagement aggravated the misery until Florence Nightingale brought relief. The keen dissatisfaction felt at home led Mr. Roebuck to move for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the conduct of the war. This was equivalent to a vote of censure on the Ministry, but was carried by a majority of 157. Lord Aberdeen resigned. Lord Derby and Lord John Russell having failed to form a Ministry, the task devolved upon Lord Palmerston, who thereupon became Prime Minister. His inability to persuade the House to abandon the motion for a committee of inquiry led to the resignation of the Peelites, Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham and Sidney Herbert. Before the end of the year Lord John Russell, too, had resigned. Sir George Cornewall Lewis was the new Chancellor of the Exchequer.

These were years of costly wars. The plenipotentiaries had hardly left the congress of peace at Paris when war broke out with China. Some Chinamen, accused of piracy, took refuge on board a small vessel called the *Arrow*, on the Canton river. It was asserted that the *Arrow* was a British vessel. In fact she was a Chinese boat which had hoisted a British flag. Nevertheless our consul at Canton rashly demanded the release of the prisoners. Though the demand itself was unjustifiable, he resolved to enforce it by calling in the assistance of our representative at Hongkong. The Chinese authorities surrendered, but justly refused to apologise for having boarded the *Arrow*. Thereupon Canton was bombarded, which led to retaliatory measures on the part of the Chinese. The Treaty of Tientsin opened new ports for trade. In 1860, after the taking of the Taku forts,

**Treaty of
Paris, 1856.**

**Palmerston
Prime
Minister,
1855.**

**War with
China, 1857.**

which was provoked by Chinese evasions, the Treaty of Peking admitted a British resident at the Chinese court.

This affair gave a curious turn to home politics. Mr. Cobden brought forward a motion in the House of Commons condemning the arbitrary conduct of the British authorities in China, and it was carried by a majority of 16 (263-247). Palmerston immediately appealed to the constituencies to vindicate his action. Extravagant absurdities about the savage Chinese caught the public fancy, and Palmerston was returned to power with an increased majority. Henceforth, till his death, he was the most prominent statesman in England.

Another little war engaged our attention in Persia. The Shah of Persia having invaded Herat, contrary to treaty stipulations,

General Outram was despatched from Bombay to uphold the honour of the flag. Of course, the expedition succeeded in its object. The importance of the war, however, lay in its effect on the native soldiers of India. For mutiny was in the air, and the withdrawal of troops encouraged them in their daring resolution to overthrow British supremacy. This uprising was the Indian Mutiny.

The Indian Mutiny was the gravest danger that ever beset British authority in India. Its causes were deep and widespread. Firstly,

The Indian Mutiny : there existed considerable resentment against the
Causes. foreign domination of the English. Native princes looked on with dismay at the gradual subversion of states, a fact brought home with increased force by the aggressiveness of Lord Dalhousie, who had annexed the Punjaub, Oude, Berar, Nagpore and other states. To make their subjection still more aggravating, native officers in the army were gradually supplanted by Europeans. Secondly, a general belief prevailed that the power of the British was rapidly on the wane. The recent success of the Afghans encouraged it. The Crimean War accentuated it. Add to this the fact, which the natives were aware of, that India was being drained of its troops to cope with our difficulties in China and Persia.

Religious discontent cut deeper. English officers were not always discreet in their treatment of the religious customs of the Hindoo

and the Mohammedan, who, though bitterly antagonistic, were now drawn together in mutual defence. To a European, "caste" was a monstrously absurd institution.

Yet it was the very life-blood of the social system of the Hindoo. Therefore, when the Bengal Sepoy was told, in 1856, that he would have to serve outside India, like the native soldier of Bombay or Madras, he looked upon it as a degradation. It was believed that the British were engaged in a deliberate attempt to replace the customs of centuries by European civilisation, and that caste was to perish. The Mohammedans, too, had their suspicions aroused. The ruthless suppression of the barbarous customs of Thuggee and Suttee caused further uneasiness.

The immediate cause may seem curious. In 1856 the Enfield rifle was introduced among the native troops. A malicious rumour

**The Out-
break, May
10, 1857.**

took wing that the cartridges were greased with a mixture of fat from the cow and lard from the pig. To the Hindoo the cow is a sacred animal; the Mohammedans detest nothing more than the pig. Futile efforts were made to counteract these falsehoods, but the natives were obviously bent on revolution. The Bengal cavalry refused to use the cartridges, and mutinied at Meerut. English officers were slain. Imprisoned mutineers were released. A wild rush was made for Delhi, the ancient capital of the Mogul Empire. The last representative of the Grand Mogul who lived there was proclaimed Emperor, and became the figurehead of the Mutiny.

The Governor-General of India at the time was Lord Canning, a man of calm, imperial temperament. He instantly recognised that every available British soldier in the East should be concentrated on India. Troops on their way to China were, therefore, intercepted. The Mutiny was most dangerous at Delhi, the whole region falling into the hands of the rebels with the exception of a few garrisons, notably those at Lucknow and Cawnpore, and these were besieged. Though it was feared that the outbreak would spread to the Punjaub, the Sikhs of that district remained loyal and even joined in suppressing the Mutiny, a tribute to the wise administration of Sir John Lawrence. The armies of Bombay and Madras were faithful, as were also those of the great Maratha chiefs, and Lower Bengal. Unluckily Cawnpore fell into the hands of one of the most treacherous and infamous of orientals, Nana Sahib, who murdered the defenceless victims in cold blood. Some time previously, in July, Sir Henry Lawrence had been killed by a shell while defending Lucknow.

But relief was at hand. After a siege of four months Delhi was

captured, in September, through the vigour of Nicholson; while General Havelock, moving up the Ganges from Allahabad, relieved the famished garrison of Lucknow, though the town was not taken till March, 1858, by Sir Colin Campbell. A few scattered districts held out for a little longer, but before the end of the year the Mutiny was over.

The Mutiny suppressed.

The Mutiny saw the last of the East India Company. In 1858 an "Act for the Better Government of India" was passed by which the Company was dissolved, and the government of India placed in the hands of the Crown. A Secretary of State for India, who was to be a member of the Cabinet, took over the functions previously exercised by the Board of Control and the Company. The Crown was represented by a Viceroy, who was assisted by an expert Council, and to whom all provinces were made subordinate; and the European troops of the Company were to become the forces of the Crown. Lord Canning became the first Viceroy.

End of the East India Company, 1858.

In the meantime the Ministry of Palmerston had unexpectedly collapsed. In January, 1858, an Italian exile, Orsini by name, attempted to assassinate the Emperor of the French, Napoleon III. The bombs exploded; ten persons were blown to pieces, while over 150 were wounded.

Collapse of Palmerston, 1858.

As the plot had been hatched and the bombs manufactured in England, France unchained a storm of anger against this country. In order to propitiate public opinion in France, Palmerston introduced a Conspiracy to Murder Bill, a mild measure making such conspiracy a felony punishable by death. Suddenly the impression got abroad that Palmerston was too subservient to Louis Napoleon, and that he was about to deny to political refugees from other countries an asylum in England. An amendment to the Bill being carried (234-219), Palmerston resigned (1858).

Lord Derby once more formed a sort of stop-gap Ministry. Its first task was to bring the Indian Mutiny to an end. Then it carried a few minor reforms, the chief of which was the removal of the disability which prevented the Jews being allowed to sit in Parliament. It is worthy of note that Mr. Disraeli—a Jew who had accepted the Christian religion—was then Leader of the House of Commons, though the success of the measure was not due directly to him. Another Act abolished the property qualification for Members of Parliament.

The Jews.

The Government perished on a half-hearted Reform Bill. It was introduced by Mr. Disraeli, who, realising that reform was the vital question of the immediate future, aimed at making

The "Fancy Franchises."

it his own. But his first attempt was disastrous. He proposed to enfranchise medical practitioners, graduates, and lawyers, the "fancy franchises," as they were called in derision. Sturdy reformers like John Bright battered the Government on these proposals. On his defeat in March, 1859, Derby dissolved Parliament. The Liberals came back to power, and Lord Palmerston formed his second Ministry, with Lord John Russell as Foreign Secretary and Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

A few weeks after this Italy was united into one kingdom. Hitherto the peninsula had been so many units, the Austrians

Italian

Unity, 1859.

being in possession of the fair plains of Lombardy, Naples and Sicily constituting an independent kingdom, and the Pope reigning over the Papal States, with Rome as capital. Count Cavour, who strove with untiring zeal for the cause of Italian unity, prevailed upon the Emperor of the French to drive out the Austrians, whilst Garibaldi, another Italian nationalist, set Naples and Sicily free from their Bourbon king. In 1861 Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, was proclaimed King of Italy by an Italian Parliament. Mr. Gladstone had given a great impetus to the movement by revealing to Europe the atrocities and corruption that existed in Naples. Palmerston also supported the Italians.

A few years later, in 1864, a significant step was taken towards German unity, of which Bismarck, the Prussian Chancellor, was the inspiration. The population of Schleswig and

German

Unity, 1864.

Holstein was largely German, though the duchies were loosely attached to Denmark. Prussia and Austria now combined to drive out the Danes, and Schleswig-Holstein became part of the German Confederation. Austria and Prussia, however, failing to come to an agreement about the division of the spoils, went to war in 1866. Through the military brilliance of the Prussian general, Von Moltke, Austria was decisively beaten at Sadowa. Thereupon Prussia, under its King, William I, became the first power in Germany. Palmerston, being tempted to interfere on behalf of the Danes, wisely refrained from implicating the country in an affair which was no concern of ours.

The most absorbing question in foreign policy during these years

was the American Civil War. The United States were sharply divided on the question of slavery. In the Southern States negro slaves were required to work on the plantations, for the climate was not suitable for Europeans. Slavery had been abolished in the Northern States. The disagreement became acute, until at last, under the leadership of Jefferson Davis, the South seceded, calling themselves the Confederate States. The leader of the North was President Abraham Lincoln, an uncompromising opponent of slavery and its attendant horrors. For this reason Englishmen at first favoured the North. Then public opinion veered to the South when it was felt that they were being coerced by the North. Palmerston professed strict neutrality, although his position became somewhat embarrassing through the Government's dilatory methods.

The North were grievously disappointed at England's sympathy with the South. The *Alabama* question changed their disappointment to furious anger. The *Alabama* was a war vessel, built on the Mersey and manned by British sailors for the service of the South. She cruised for two years, plundering remorselessly the merchant marine of the North, until she herself was sent to the bottom off Cherbourg.

Her destructive career caused much bad blood between Britain and the North Americans, who were eventually victorious, and to whom later we had to pay a considerable sum of money as compensation. During the war, too, the Southern States failed to export cotton to the Lancashire mills, which threw thousands out of employment and caused great misery. It was known as the Cotton Famine, a time when the benefits of cheap bread were realised to the full.

At home the outstanding feature of Palmerston's administration were the brilliant Budgets of Mr. Gladstone. He had with great reluctance broken with the Conservative party; yet his active mind had been steadily advancing towards Liberal principles before he finally proclaimed himself a Liberal by taking office under Palmerston. In 1860 he and Cobden arranged a commercial treaty with France, the effect of which was that that country abolished prohibitory duties on British manufactures, while Gladstone in his Budget abolished duties on manufactured goods and reduced the tax on foreign

**American
Civil War.**

**The
"Alabama."**

**Lancashire
Cotton
Famine,
1861-1864.**

**Gladstone
as
Chancellor.**

wines. At the same time he endeavoured to remove the duty on paper, so as to give the people cheap newspapers. This part of the Budget the Lords rejected. At the same time an effort was made to reduce the borough and county franchise, accompanied by a redistribution of seats; but the indifferent support of Palmerston, who had no liking for Parliamentary reform, led to its withdrawal.

In his 1860 Budget Gladstone removed the customs duties from 371 articles, thereby reducing the number of taxed articles to forty-eight. The Budget stamped him as one of the ablest financiers Britain had produced. The rejection of the paper duty by the Lords led Gladstone, in his 1861 Budget, to include all his financial proposals in a single bill, so that the House of Lords was bound either to reject or accept the whole, for that House has no authority to amend money bills.

The session of 1865 has a peculiar interest for Wales. In that year Mr. Dillwyn, the member for Swansea, moved a resolution for the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. Gladstone, in sympathising with it, showed in what direction his reforming energy moved; for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was one of his greatest achievements. When this had been accomplished, Dillwyn laboured on behalf of a similar measure for Wales.

These were days of abundant prosperity. Palmerston's popularity was at its zenith. But his strength had been failing for some time. On October 18, 1865, he died, being eighty years of age. For many years he had been the most conspicuous British statesman. He was pre-eminently a Foreign Minister, a department in which he was aggressive in vindicating the honour of his country. He had little sympathy with the projected reforms of Gladstone. With his death the period of middle class rule in Britain, which was ushered in by the Reform Bill of 1832, comes to an end. No one had a clearer political vision of how domestic events would eventually shape themselves. He summed up the immediate future when he said, "Gladstone will soon have his way; whenever he gets my place we shall have strange doings."

CHIEF DATES.

Penny Postage adopted	.	.	.	.	.	1839
Repeal of the Corn Laws	.	.	.	.	.	1846

Crimean War	1854-1856
Indian Mutiny	1857
American Civil War	1861-1865
Death of Lord Palmerston	1865

NOTES.

The Chief Ministries :—

Melbourne's second Administration	1835-1841
Peel's	1841-1846
Russell's first	1846-1852
Derby's	1852 (Feb.-Dec.)
Aberdeen's	1852-1855
Palmerston's	1855-1858
Derby's second	1858-1859
Palmerston's	1859-1865

CHAPTER IX

VICTORIA (*continued*)

GLADSTONE AND DEMOCRACY

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS :—

- France.* Napoleon III (1852-1870).
The Third Republic.
Prussia. William I (1861-1888).
German Emperor (1871).
Frederick III (1888).
William II (1888).

Rise of Democracy—The Reform Bill of 1866—Fenianism—Gladstone's First Ministry — Franco-German War — Disraeli — The Eastern Question—India—South Africa—Gladstone's Second Ministry—Ireland—Egypt—Reform Bill of 1884—Home Rule—Gladstone's retirement—Lord Salisbury—Armenia—South African War—Death of Queen Victoria.

ON the death of Lord Palmerston Earl Russell (formerly Lord John Russell) became Prime Minister. Far more momentous

The Russell Ministry, 1865-1866. was the accession of Mr. Gladstone to the leadership of the House of Commons. Palmerston had been as popular with the Conservatives as with the Whigs,

for both recognised in him a solid bulwark against the clamours of the extreme Liberals for Parliamentary reform. Gladstone, on the other hand, was an aggressive exponent of the ideals of that extreme section which Palmerston had held in check. In other words, he was the champion of democracy. Less than one-fiftieth

Rise of the Democracy. of the working men of the country possessed the franchise. "I venture to say," said Gladstone,

"that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or of political danger, is morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution." This meant that every man had a moral right to a vote. The Reform Bill of 1832 enfranchised the middle classes only. To

enfranchise and uplift the working classes was the keynote of Gladstone's policy.

He at once set about the task with the terrible earnestness which characterised his actions in all spheres. In 1866 he introduced his Reform Bill. On his own side of the House there were a number of Whigs who viewed any such measure with great disquietude. Their spokesman was Mr. Lowe, who, as Mr. Bright said, retired like King David into a "Cave of Adullam," whither he summoned "every one that was in distress and every one that was discontented." An alliance between the Conservatives and the Adullamites reduced the majority for the second reading to five (318-313). Consequently the Ministry resigned.

But it soon became evident that the vigorous determination of the trades organisations would insist on having a democratic Parliament. A great agitation swept the country. Leagues and associations were formed to further it. A meeting of vast proportions was arranged to take place in Hyde Park, but was forbidden. This was followed by riots, until Disraeli, on March 18, "dished the Whigs" by introducing a Reform Bill of his own. He tried to incorporate his "fancy franchises," but the force of Liberal opinion swept them away. The bill was finally passed in August. By it all male householders rated for poor relief in the boroughs were enfranchised. Lodgers were given the vote, provided they paid £10

The Third Derby Ministry, 1866-1868.

Reform Act of Disraeli.

a year in rent and occupied the same rooms for a year. In the counties persons owning property of the annual value of £5, and occupiers of lands or houses paying £12 a year, were enfranchised. A few small boroughs lost separate representation, whilst those having less than 10,000 inhabitants lost one member. The most populous towns and counties received additional members. Next year similar bills were passed for Scotland and Ireland. The county franchise in Ireland remained as before, though the borough franchise was reduced from £8 to £4.

The importance of the measure lay in the fact that it introduced household suffrage in the towns, so that henceforth the working classes would constitute the determining factor in elections. As regards Wales, Merthyr Tydfil received an additional member. Moreover, a most profound

Wales and the Bill.

change came over the representation of the Principality now that the smaller farmers were enfranchised. Being imbued with a strong Welsh national feeling, they chose members who would carry the torch of nationalism. (See Ch. X.)

Disraeli would not have carried his Reform Act were it not for the support of the Liberals, who were in a majority in the House of Commons. His action, therefore, alienated a number of Conservatives, chief among whom was Lord Cranborne, afterwards Lord Salisbury, who resigned. As Secretary for India he had already shown considerable administrative capacity.

While Earl Russell was still in office alarming narratives were circulated in England about the state of affairs in Jamaica, where the negroes, who had just cause of complaint against the planter class, had risen in insurrection. Governor Eyre suppressed the rising promptly, but afterwards resorted to cruel and vindictive measures, wholly unjustifiable, which brought to an end his career as Governor. Jamaica was given a new constitution; but the affair was important in that it served as a warning to our Colonial Governors to mete out humane treatment to the natives under their charge. Another foreign circumstance which created some stir was Sir Robert Napier's expedition to punish the King of Abyssinia for maltreating some British subjects (1868). It ended in the storming of Magdala, the king's fortress.

Lord Derby's brief tenure of office is noteworthy for the confederation of the North American Provinces. To this end a Bill was passed in 1867. By it Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, federated in what was called the Dominion of Canada. Since then other Provinces have joined the Federation. The affairs of the Dominion were to be managed by a Federal Parliament, with local Legislative Assemblies for each state. The Federal Parliament consists of a Senate and a House of Commons. A Governor-General represents the Crown, and the executive is vested in him.

The unhappy condition of Ireland has given rise to a number of societies, but none of them have adopted more violent means than the Fenians. For many years a constant stream of Irishmen had emigrated to America, where they acquired political power in the shape of the franchise, which they

**Lord
Salisbury.**

**Jamaica,
1865.**

**Dominion
of Canada,
1867.**

Fenianism.

had never exercised in their native land. The American Civil War gave them a military training, which the more ardent patriots wished to turn to some account in an attempt to set Ireland free from the English yoke by setting up an Irish Republic. This was the object of the Fenian Society, started by some Irish and Irish-Americans. The agitation began about 1858. In 1865 a large number of Irish-Americans returned to the old country with sinister purpose. An abortive attempt at insurrection was made in 1867. This was followed in September by a daring rescue of two Fenian prisoners from a prison van in Manchester. The rescued escaped, but three of the rescuers were put to death for shooting the sergeant in charge of the van. This was followed by a most atrocious crime: A few Fenians having been imprisoned in Clerkenwell prison, London, a number of their friends blew up the walls with gunpowder, with the result that a dozen persons were killed and more than a hundred wounded.

The duty of statesmen was to discover what grievances were at the root of these felonies. One of these grievances was the existence of an alien Anglican Church in a land of Catholics. Mr. Gladstone, realising the injustice, carried a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland. Mr. Disraeli, who was Prime Minister at the time—Lord Derby having resigned that year on account of failing health—therefore gave up office, having held his first Prime Ministership for only a few months. Meanwhile some good work had been done. Public executions were abolished, and the Telegraph system was made part of the business of the Post Office. In November a general election took place. The Liberals were returned with a majority of 120, and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the first time. In retiring from office before the new House of Commons had met and given a hostile vote, Disraeli created a precedent.

The Ministry contained Mr. John Bright (President of the Board of Trade), who for many years had consistently advocated democratic changes. Gladstone's first great reform was the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. The population of Ireland were Catholics in the proportion of five out of every six. Even of the minority the larger proportion were Presbyterians. Only a few attended the services of the Anglican Church, the

**Fall of
Disraeli,
1868.**

**Gladstone's
First
Ministry,
1868-1874.**

existence of which as the State Church was an ever-present symbol of the subjection of the Irish to English rule. It was for these reasons that the bill found support, and passed into law in July. Henceforth the Anglican Church in Ireland was not to be a privileged church. Vested interests were generously safeguarded, but after all claims had been met there still remained a large surplus. This was utilised to relieve distress.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church, 1869.

Gladstone next directed his artillery against the land system of Ireland, a deeper and far more practical grievance. The vicious feature of the system was that the Irish peasant, who was a tenant-at-will, could be evicted from his holding at the bidding of the landlord or his agent without compensation for any improvements he may have introduced. He had, therefore, every inducement to be idle and thriftless; for no sooner had he improved his little patch—the possession of which was vital to him—than his rent was raised. If he refused to pay the higher rent he was turned out to make room for some one who would. In England improvements were made by the landlord and became his property. Moreover, the landlords of Ireland were alien and utterly out of sympathy with the Irish population. Comparatively few of them lived in Ireland. The work of supervision was left entirely to rough, grasping agents. The universal demand among the agricultural population was for fixity of tenure.

On August 1, 1870, Gladstone's Irish Land Act became law. It overthrew the principle upon which English statesmen had acted hitherto, viz., that the landlord alone had a right in the land. It compelled landlords to compensate any tenants, whom they arbitrarily evicted, for the improvements that had been made in the holding. Gladstone's object was to give the tenant security of tenure as long as he paid his rent. But the clauses did not prove to be sufficiently stringent. There were conditions the fulfilment of which would enable a landlord to contract himself out of the provisions of the bill. He could still evict if he chose to pay compensation. Indeed, so ruthless were the landlords that the evictions actually became more numerous.

Irish Land Act, 1870.

The next achievement of the Government was the Education Bill, carried through by Mr. W. E. Forster in 1870. For some

years insignificant Government grants had been given to support elementary education, but on the whole the education of the poor had been maintained chiefly by voluntary contributions. The British Schools and the Voluntary schools had done good service with the means at their disposal. The Bill of 1870 for the first time set up a national system of education. School Boards were established throughout England and Wales, each district electing its own. This Board had the right to levy an education rate, frame bye-laws, and compel all children to go to school. At first the children paid a small fee, which was abolished in 1891. The chief financial support of the system came from the rates and an annual grant from the Treasury paid on the results of the year's work. In 1871 religious tests were abolished at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, so that Nonconformists and Catholics could enter untrammelled.

In 1871, Mr. Cardwell, the War Minister, made the first systematic attempt to place the army on a sound basis. The Crimean War had revealed the inadequacy of the old system, in which merciless flogging of the common soldier, purchase of commissions by a set of ignorant, inefficient officers, and twenty-one years' service were the chief features. Cardwell reconstructed the army on a plan which abolished flogging, established short service, and included the militia, the volunteers, and the regulars in one system. The several divisions were localised, so that each county had its regiment. The most controversial feature of it was the proposal to abolish the system by which commissions and promotions in the army were bought, which made the army an exclusively aristocratic service. This proposal provoked a bitter opposition, which ended in the House of Lords refusing to pass it. By an audacious piece of strategy Gladstone overcame their resistance by abolishing purchase by Royal Warrant.

The next outcome of the Government's unprecedented vitality was the Ballot Act, which established our present system of secret voting and nomination of candidates. Secret voting was an inestimable boon, especially to tenant farmers, whose very livelihood had hitherto depended on their voting in accordance with the wishes of their landlord. The new form of nomination abolished the outrageous system by which rival candidates for Parliament addressed the electors on the day of nomination from the hustings, not unusually accompanied by

**Elementary
Education
Act, 1870.**

**The Army,
1871.**

**The Ballot,
1872.**

furious faction fights between their respective supporters. In 1873 a Judicature Act was passed, uniting the chief Courts of Law at Westminster into a single High Court of Justice. It aimed at simplifying the administration of justice.

Towards the end of his allotted period of office Gladstone introduced an Irish University Bill. It proposed to set up a national university in which history, theology, and moral philosophy were not to be taught, his object being to minimise religious strife. We shall see that the Bill hastened the downfall of the great Ministry.

**Irish Uni-
versity Bill,
1873.**

During these years the event in Europe most pregnant with far-reaching consequences was the Franco-German War, which was provoked by the French Emperor Napoleon. The Prussians found their way to Paris with less difficulty than they had anticipated, and Paris capitulated. The French were forced to cede Alsace and part of Lorraine. Prussia, which had already fully justified its claim to be the leading State in united Germany, afterwards enthusiastically proclaimed their King William as Emperor of a new German Empire, for all the States of Germany, with the exception of Austria, had come beneath his banner. No less momentous was the result of the war on France. Napoleon was driven from his throne, and the Third Republic was set up, which has lasted to our day. Although the King of Sardinia, in 1861, had been made King of Italy, the Pope, who was supported by Napoleon, had refused to submit. When by the humiliation of Napoleon this support was withdrawn, the Pope bowed to the inevitable. Rome therefore became the capital of united Italy. United Italy and united Germany, subsequently joined by Austria, formed a Triple Alliance in 1883. To counteract it France and Russia made the Dual Alliance.

Two events abroad damaged the popularity of Gladstone's Ministry. Russia, in contravention of the Treaty of Paris of 1856, sent her war-ships into the Black Sea, resolved to profit by the Franco-German war. England was not in a position to undertake another Crimean war, and Russia's audacious aggression was acquiesced in by a Conference which met in London in 1871. In 1872 the Board of Arbitration appointed under the Treaty of Washington to deal with the *Alabama* affair gave award. By it England had to pay over three million pounds for the depredations committed by that

**Foreign
Affairs.**

vessel. This decision of the arbitrators, excessive and unjust as it was, prejudiced the cause of arbitration, and was certainly not to the liking of Britons. The Government of the day consequently suffered in public esteem.

**Treaty of
Washington,
1871.**

Apart from its foreign policy, the chief causes of the downfall of the Ministry were as follows. A natural reaction set in after

**Fall of the
Ministry,
1874.**

the extraordinary rush of reforms. The publicans were alienated by a bill to diminish drunkenness.

A Home Rule agitation had begun among the Irish Protestants who were opposed to Gladstone. Some of the members of the administration were tactless. The Budgets of Mr. Lowe were not calculated to fire enthusiasm. The Nonconformists were alienated by the Irish University Bill, on the second reading of which Gladstone found himself in a minority of three (287-284), and dissolved (January, 1874). His axe had cleared a number of pressing evils. He had planted in our social system a number of shoots which were to grow into strong, fruitful trees. The Conservatives returned with a majority of about fifty.

Disraeli now for the first time had a commanding majority. Lord Derby was Foreign Secretary, and Lord Salisbury, Secretary for India. A man of remarkable gifts, Disraeli had

**Disraeli,
1874-1880.**

acted hitherto either in opposition or as minister in a stop-gap Administration. For twenty years he

had failed to win much power. Now he was all-powerful, especially as Mr. Gladstone temporarily retired from the leadership of the Liberal party. With great shrewdness he refused to distract the country with a series of great controversial measures, choosing rather to allow the reforms of the late Administration to take root. He gave the country sound administration, tempered with a few useful improvements. He took a lively interest in foreign policy, the intrigues of foreign courts having a greater fascination for his theatrical nature than the more prosaic wranglings of clashing interests. He had no love for the details of administration.

One belated piece of domestic legislation deserves notice—the Church Patronage Bill. It was a measure for the abolition of

**Church
Patronage
Bill, 1874.**

Church Patronage in Scotland, which vested in the several congregations the right to choose their ministers. Patrons had hitherto exercised this right, a

practice which ignores the wishes of the congregation. In 1874 a Bill for the Regulation of Public Worship was passed, its object

being to suppress ritualistic tendencies in the Church. A defect in many of Disraeli's other measures was that they were not compulsory, and therefore of little use.

Mr. Disraeli inaugurated his "spirited foreign policy" by a masterly stroke, which was hailed with almost undiluted approbation. The riotous misgovernment of the Khedive (i.e. the Sultan's representative in Egypt) had brought him to the brink of ruin. His shares in the Suez Canal, which amounted to nearly one-half the total number, were therefore put up for sale. To the astonishment of Europe Disraeli bought them for the English Government, a purchase which gave Britain a controlling interest in this high-road to India. The Canal had been built by French engineers to shorten the journey to the East. In 1879, when, on account of the Khedive's incapacity, Egypt was reduced to lawlessness, Disraeli co-operated with France in setting up a system of Dual Control, which made the two western Powers practically joint governors of the country.

Once more a grave crisis disturbed the East. The lessons of the Crimean War had been utterly lost on the "Unspeakable Turk"; for in spite of opportunities, no effort had been made by him to introduce reforms. The Balkan peninsula is a conglomeration of conflicting races and religions—Slavs, Greeks, Mohammedans, and Christians, the only bond of union between them being their utter detestation of Turkish rule. Thus instead of uniting for a common purpose, the population of the Balkans was divided into a number of states in semi-dependence. In 1875 an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina, mainly among the Christian population, who, being Slavs, naturally turned to Russia for support. It spread with alarming rapidity. Austria, Germany, and Russia proposed to the English Government to take joint action to compel the Turk to grant the reforms which the Balkans desired. Disraeli refused, and the Sultan was confirmed in his belief that England would stand by him against other European Powers. Thus armed, the Porte perpetrated a series of horrible massacres of women and children, at which the moral sense of Europe stood aghast. Servia rose and was instantly crushed. A conference of the Great Powers was held at Constantinople, but the obstinacy of the Turk, coupled with the jealousies of the Powers, destroyed its capacity for doing good. Thereupon Russia, in her eagerness to defend the Christian

**Suez Canal
Shares, 1875.**

**Eastern
Question,
1875-8.**

**"Bulgarian
Atrocities,"
1876.**

Slavs against further barbarities, declared war against Turkey, in 1877.

Gladstone had declaimed with passionate eloquence against the Porte. His policy was to join with Russia in expelling the Turk, "bag and baggage," from Europe. Disraeli argued for the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey as a bulwark against Russian aggrandisement. For that end he would risk war. Meanwhile Russian arms were everywhere triumphant. In January, 1878, Plevna, which had offered a stalwart resistance since July, fell into their hands. In a few weeks they would be before the walls of Constantinople, which English public opinion firmly believed to be the real objective of the Czar. Suddenly Beaconsfield (Disraeli had become Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876) sent the British fleet to the Sea of Marmora, native troops were hurried from India to Malta to be in readiness, and the Volunteers were called out. This warlike policy led to the resignation of some members of the Cabinet, notably Lord Derby. Meanwhile the Turks, beaten in the field, were coerced into accepting the Treaty of San Stefano. But Lord Salisbury contended that all conditions of peace should be examined at the Berlin Congress, which was summoned to meet in June, 1878.

Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury represented Britain at that Congress, which drew up the famous Treaty of Berlin. The Treaty gave complete independence to Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania, with certain religious stipulations. The principality of Bulgaria was formed north of the Balkans, practically independent, though the suzerainty of the Sultan was guaranteed. Eastern Roumelia, another state, was made subject to the Sultan, receiving a limited amount of self-government under a Christian Pasha. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to become subject to Austria. Russia received Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum, a valuable post on the Black Sea, together with a portion of Bessarabia. Cyprus was given over to Britain on condition that we defended Asia Minor. Beaconsfield boasted that he had brought "peace with honour," but the settlement was soon shattered. In 1885 Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia united in one large state, which it had been England's object to prevent. The great importance of the treaty lies in that it set up national self-governing states in Turkey.

**Britain's
Attitude in
the Russo-
Turkish War,
1877-78.**

**Treaty of
Berlin, 1878.**

For nearly twenty years after the Indian Mutiny there existed comparative peace in India. The railway system was extended.

Second

Afghan War, periodical famines, whilst the work of government
1878-80. was facilitated. In 1877 the Queen assumed the

title of Empress of India. The Russo-Turkish war had strained the relations between Russia and this country, which soon gave rise to difficulties in Afghanistan. There Britain suspected her rival of intriguing with the Ameer to our disadvantage. To minimise the possibility of these intrigues, and to secure the paramount influence of Britain, the Government requested the Ameer to receive an English mission. The mission became an invasion. Cabul was entered; Shere Ali was driven from his throne, and Yakub Khan was placed there in his stead, after having promised to receive a British resident at Cabul (1879). The next intelligence that reached England was that the British resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, and his staff had been murdered in a civil broil. General Roberts thereupon fought his way to Cabul once more, and punished the murderers. But there was no substantial gain. In 1880, when Roberts had sufficiently vindicated the prestige of British arms, the Gladstone Ministry abandoned Afghanistan, and made a treaty with Abdur Rahman, the rival of Shere Ali. This was the only sound course, for it made possible a strong and friendly Afghanistan, which would be a barrier against the sinister influences of Russia.

During the later years of Queen Victoria's reign our military operations in India were concentrated mainly on the defence of the frontiers. In 1898 the Afridis, a fierce Indian hill
Progress. tribe, were reduced after considerable efforts. In recent years manufactures have spread rapidly, although the mass of the population continue to live on in the old ways. The terrors of famine are vanishing before the arts of Western civilisation.

Another disastrous war which absorbed the energies of the Ministry was the Boer War. The Boers, or Dutch farmers, were bitterly opposed to the expansion of British authority
South in South Africa. They particularly resented the
Africa. abolition of slavery in 1834, for they treated the natives as slaves. They therefore "treked" northwards from Cape Colony, and founded Natal in 1835, which we annexed eight years later. Other Boers founded the Orange Free State and the Transvaal or South African Republic. In 1852 the British Govern-

ment declared that it would confine its responsibilities to Natal and Cape Colony, the independence of the two Boer Republics being fully recognised. But the Dutch and British settlers were in a vast minority, so that progress was slow. Of the natives the most powerful were the Zulus, whose territory bordered on Natal. Their chief was Cetewayo.

The Boers in the Transvaal were so few, and their military organisation so bad, that they failed to cope with the warlike natives. It

Cetewayo. appears that they made some overtures to the British, whereupon Sir T. Shepstone went out to investigate.

In 1877 he boldly annexed the Transvaal to British territory. In 1878 there went out, as Lord High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, who was animated by an imperious conviction that it were better to bring the whole of South Africa under British rule. He thus came into immediate conflict with Cetewayo, who, suspecting some such project on the part of the British, made ready. Sir Bartle Frere ordered him to disband his troops. This was war. In January, 1879, the British, under Lord Chelmsford, suffered a sweeping disaster at Isandhlwana. It was temporary only. At Ulundi in April the disaster was retrieved, which was followed by the capture of Cetewayo. The Zulu danger having been removed, the Boers of the Transvaal questioned Britain's right to annex their Republic, and snatched a victory over our troops at Majuba Hill. In 1881 their virtual independence was recognised, and it was confirmed at the London Convention of 1884. Britain retained a suzerainty.

Majuba Hill, 1880.

With the removal of Disraeli to the House of Lords in 1876, the Ministry was left without a leader in the Commons who could stand

Home Rule. up against Gladstone, whom the "Bulgarian horrors" had withdrawn from retirement. Beaconsfield's place

was taken by Sir Stafford Northcote, a man of gentler mould. Moreover, a new difficulty had arisen with the Irish, who were already concentrating their energies on a demand for Home Rule. This agitation received its inspiration from the Irish Protestants, who were furious with the Disestablishment of the Church in Ireland. But the strength of the movement depended on the Catholic Irish. It was under Charles Stewart Parnell, a shrewd, vigorous Protestant, that it assumed an ominous importance in British politics. In Parliament he organised a system of obstruction which prevented the orderly transaction of business. Outside, the Irish Nationalist

Party which he formed directed their embittered diatribes against the outrageous land system. In 1879 he started a Land League, to obtain for the peasant complete ownership of his holding.

The indifference of the Government to their demands provoked a violent agitation, which was accompanied by outrages in the south and west. The Zulu war also damaged the popularity of the Ministry. Trade was poor. Distress was deep and widespread. There was a threatened famine in Ireland. Most important of all, the fervid eloquence of Gladstone during his Midlothian Campaign in 1879 ruthlessly dissected the Government's shortcomings, and sent a thrill of resentment through the constituencies. Beaconsfield accepted the challenge, not without hope that the country would vindicate his policy. He was deceived: the elections of 1880 resulted in the complete rout of the Conservatives. The new Parliament was composed of 347 Liberals, 240 Conservatives, and 65 Nationalists. A year later Beaconsfield died.

One important piece of domestic advance characterised the Disraeli Ministry. The most formidable means adopted by the workers of the country to better the conditions of labour were the Trades Unions. The methods of a few of these were at first appallingly odious. Such extreme measures as secret assassination were employed to silence their most dangerous enemies. Consequently, in 1867, the Government, having appointed a Commission to investigate the working of Trades Unions, found that organised intimidation of the worst kind was rampant in the industrial centres in the midlands and the north of England. Fortunately, it also became apparent that the law against Trades Unions was cruel. It is true that in 1825 combinations among workmen for certain purposes had been legalised, yet to combine for better wages or to bring about a strike was reckoned a dangerous conspiracy. Master and man were not equal before the law. In 1871 the Trade Union Act was passed, making it legal for workmen to combine in order to press for higher wages. This would no longer be reckoned a criminal conspiracy. The right of combination was afterwards allowed for every purpose, provided, of course, it were not for a purpose which would be criminal in an individual. The same Government established the Local Government Board to look after the poor law system and the public health.

Mr. Gladstone's second Ministry contained Lord Granville,

Foreign Secretary ; Sir William Harcourt, Home Secretary ; and

**Gladstone's
Second
Ministry,
1880-1885.**

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Gladstone himself was Chancellor of the Exchequer. His first concern was with Ireland, where

evictions and famine combined to produce pitiable distress. To ameliorate its condition Gladstone in 1881 passed his

Ireland.

second Irish Land Act. It gave the peasantry a right to sell to the highest bidder the interest they had

acquired in the holding through the improvements they had carried out. It also made it possible for a striving peasant to buy his holding. It set up a land court with power to fix all rents for fifteen years. This beneficent measure had scarcely come into operation when the Land League, setting law at defiance, advocated a policy of non-payment of rents. Outrages became excessive, which compelled the Government to introduce a Coercion Bill strengthening the hands of the Chief Secretary and Lord Lieutenant. Meanwhile the Irish Nationalist Party in Parliament pursued their policy of obstruction with grim determination. Parnell and some of his associates, accused of inciting the Irish to break the law, were suddenly thrown into prison. The Land League was dissolved.

Then came an ominous calm. Parnell and the Irish leaders were set free by an arrangement called the Kilmainham Treaty. Mr.

**Phoenix
Park
Murders,
1882.**

Forster, the Chief Secretary, failing to agree with this pacific policy, resigned, his place being taken by Lord Frederick Cavendish. Within a week the new Chief

Secretary and the permanent Under-Secretary were

foully murdered in Phoenix Park, Dublin, by a gang of desperadoes. The ghastly deed stiffened the fibres of the Ministry. A "Prevention of Crimes Bill" of the utmost rigour was passed. To defeat the obstructionists in the House of Commons, it was resolved to conduct business by means of the closure, a plan by which debates could be brought to an end by a vote of the majority. This firm policy made the Nationalists bitterly hostile to the Government ; but it brought comparative peace to Ireland, where the beneficent results of the Land Act were already beginning to be felt. Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Trevelyan was the new Chief Secretary.

The Government's next difficulty was in Egypt. The Egyptians, resenting the principles of the Dual Control by which their taxes were collected by European officials, found a dashing leader in

Arabi Pasha, who excited the infuriated populace to massacre a number of Europeans at Alexandria. France **Egypt;**
Tel-el-Kebir. being unwilling to take action, Britain moved alone. Alexandria was bombarded. Before troops could be landed Arabi plundered the city. Then he fled, followed by Sir Garnet Wolseley. At Tel-el-Kebir, September, 1882, Arabi was routed, after which the Khedive was nominally restored. In reality the country was now to be ruled by the British.

Meanwhile, a graver danger had appeared in the Soudan, a district higher up the valley of the Nile. There the Dervishes, a tribe of religious fanatics who hated Europeans and Egyptians **The Soudan.** alike, were roused by their prophet, the Mahdi, and cut to pieces an Egyptian force sent against them. The Soudan, with the exception of a few fortresses, was conquered. In 1884 the Government sent General Gordon to Khartoum to arrange for the withdrawal of these garrisons. Gordon had already won repute in China, where, acting for the Chinese Government, he had suppressed a formidable rising; and also in the trenches around Sebastopol. No sooner had he reached Khartoum than he was besieged **General Gordon.** by the Mahdi. The Government, failing to realise the seriousness of the danger, hesitated to despatch a relieving force. At last a large army was sent under Wolseley. An advance column reached Khartoum in January, 1885. The brave Gordon had perished two days before. A large force of the Mahdi's troops under Osman Digna was routed at Abu Klea (1885), but afterwards the efforts of the English Government were confined to Egypt.

Taking advantage of our internal dissensions and foreign difficulties, Russia once more pursued her sinister intrigues in Afghanistan, whereby our Indian frontier was threatened. Gladstone remonstrated against their occupation of Penjdeh, **Russia.** but to avoid war, agreed to submit the question to the arbitration of the King of Denmark, whose decision was accepted by the two countries.

Faced with such complications in Ireland, as well as in distant lands, Gladstone found little time for far-reaching measures of reform.

Consistent with his avowed determination to improve the condition of the masses, in 1880 he passed the Ground Game Act, which allowed tenant farmers to kill hares and rabbits; and in 1883 an Agricultural Holdings Act, **Reforms.**
1883-1885.

also for the benefit of tenant farmers. An Employers' Liability Act (1880) gave workmen compensation for injury due to the neglect of their employers. A Burials Bill gave Nonconformists the right of burial in churchyards connected with the Church of England.

But the greatest measure of reform was the Franchise Bill of 1884. Previous franchise bills had taken no account of the agricultural labourer, about whom nobody had cared until, following in the steps of the town labourer, he became a political agitator. The agitation disclosed the anomaly that half the members of Parliament—those from the boroughs—were represented by five-sixths of the total electorate; the other one-sixth, the country gentlemen, elected the other half. The object of the Third Reform Act, therefore, was to remove this double injustice. The county franchise became the same as that of the towns. Over a hundred small boroughs, with less than 15,000 inhabitants, were disfranchised. No town with less than 50,000 inhabitants was to have more than one member. The boroughs and counties were divided into single member districts, with the exception of the old boroughs returning two members, which remained undivided. Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and Birmingham received increased representation. London received 62 members, nearly twice as many as the whole of Wales. Household suffrage was now accomplished, and Britain became a thorough democracy.

The number of members from Wales ought strictly to have been reduced, but no change was made in this respect. Brecon, Beaumaris, Cardigan, Haverfordwest and Radnor lost their member. Swansea District was made a separate constituency. Monmouthshire received one additional member; the flourishing county of Glamorgan five. Wales and Monmouthshire now sent thirty-four members to Westminster.

The Government's allotted term of office was now expiring. In June, 1885, the Irish Nationalists went into the division lobby with the Conservatives on the second reading of the Budget. Gladstone, finding himself in a minority of 11, resigned. His defeat was due mainly to the political tactics of the Irish Nationalists, who strove to hold the balance of power between the two great parties, defeating whichever happened to be in office at the time. The Marquis of Salisbury became Prime Minister, though he could not carry on the affairs of the country with

The Franchise Bill, 1884-1885.

Wales.

The First Salisbury Government, 1885.

the existing House of Commons. Parliament was therefore dissolved in November, after Salisbury had passed a Bill to assist Irish farmers to purchase their holdings. The elections showed that the country was prepared to renew its confidence in Gladstone by returning 335 Liberals and 249 Conservatives. But the balance of power rested with the 86 Home Rulers, who formed a powerful body of independent opinion.

Mr. Gladstone was now summoned by the Queen to form his third Administration. It was exceedingly strong in talent, including as it did Sir William Harcourt, Lord Rosebery, Mr. John Morley, and Mr. Chamberlain. But its tenure of office would depend on the attitude of the Irish Party. Therefore, realising the necessity for a bold solution of the Irish problem, Gladstone declared himself in favour of Home Rule, a course which proved fatal to his party. Mr. Chamberlain at once left the Government. He was followed by ninety-three Liberals, who came to be known by the new title of Liberal Unionists. They pledged themselves to uphold the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. They also desired to take a more vigorous line of action in colonial and foreign affairs than had been the practice with the great Liberal reforming Ministries. For practical purposes they became part of the historic Conservative Party.

In April Mr. Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill. It proposed to set up in Dublin a parliament to deal with purely Irish affairs. The most controversial feature of the Bill was the proposal to exclude the Irish representatives from the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. It was accompanied by a Land Purchase Bill, which would enable the Irish landlords to be bought out. On the second reading of the Home Rule Bill the Liberal Unionists voted with the Conservatives, and Gladstone, beaten by 30 (343-313) immediately appealed to the constituencies. The first elections brought him disaster. In a few days the disaster had become utter rout. Only 191 Home Rule Liberals were returned; the Irish Home Rulers numbered 85; the Conservatives, 316; the Liberal Unionists, 78. Lord Salisbury thus found himself at the head of a strong party.

The Liberals, who had practically monopolised power for the last twenty years, had carried out a series of reforms almost unparalleled in our history. They now retired to the wilderness for a genera-

tion, leaving the destinies of the country and of the Empire in the hands of the Conservatives.

**Conservative
Supremacy.**

Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary in the new administration. Two of its ablest members were Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Arthur James Balfour, the leaders of the "Fourth Party," which had assailed Gladstone's second Ministry with untiring zeal. Mr. Balfour, who was Lord Salisbury's nephew, had been a member of the last Conservative Government.

**Salisbury's
Administra-
tion, 1886-
1892.**

In 1887 he became Chief Secretary for Ireland. The same year Mr. Goschen, an able financier, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was a Liberal Unionist, and his entry into the Ministry showed that the fusion of the Liberal Unionists with the Conservatives was nearing completion; for the other leaders, Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Hartington, invariably supported the Ministry.

The Government could not ignore the Irish problem. The Nationalists now devised a new method of agitation, called the "Plan of

Ireland.

Campaign," by which tenants were not to pay their rents until considerable abatements had been conceded, in fact, until the landlords had submitted to the terms offered by the tenants. Numerous evictions followed, which reduced the unhappy land once more to a deplorable state of lawlessness. In 1887 it became necessary to pass a Coercion Bill. During this time of stress Mr. Balfour's tact, together with the overwhelming anti-Home Rule opinion in Parliament, which reduced the Nationalists to a state of impotence, calmed the troubled waters. Another factor which tended in the same direction was a new Irish Land Act (1887), extending the scope of Mr. Gladstone's Act of 1881.

Questionable processes were now instituted to implicate Parnell in some of the worst outrages in Ireland. An endeavour was made by

Parnell.

the *Times* to prove that he had written a letter in which he indirectly approved of the Phoenix Park murders. The Irish leader protested his innocence, and it is now known for certain that the letter was a base forgery. A Parnell Commission, which was appointed to investigate the charges preferred against him, acquitted him of complicity, though his methods of intimidation were condemned. The action of the *Times* caused a reversion of feeling in his favour. Shortly afterwards, this was dissipated by charges against his private life. Thereupon the majority of the

Irish Party, in 1890, repudiated his leadership, and became known as the Anti-Parnellites. He died in 1891, but his death did not reconcile the two sections of the Irish Party, which stood apart until re-united by Mr. John Redmond. Meanwhile a severe blow had been struck at the cause of Home Rule.

In 1887 the Jubilee, i.e., the fiftieth year of the Queen's reign, was celebrated throughout the Empire, amid universal rejoicings. At

Local Government Act, 1888. home the chief measure of reform was the Local Government Act, which established County Councils. The counties, which had hitherto been governed by the

magistrates in quarter sessions, were now placed in the hands of popularly elected county councils. In 1891 the Elementary Education Act of 1870 was so extended that education in elementary schools became free. More stringent measures could therefore be taken to compel all children to attend.

The energy of the Ministry was concentrated rather on questions of foreign and imperial interest. Our relations with France were

Foreign Policy. somewhat strained, on account of the success which attended our independent action in dealing with the Egyptian difficulty. Russia was still drawn

towards the Indian north-west frontier. Our difficulties were increased in that France and Russia were in alliance. Fortunately, however, these two Powers, especially France, had no liking for Germany, whose abundant energy sought new fields of conquest which brought her into conflict with Britain. To relieve the tension between ourselves and the Germans, Lord Salisbury in 1890 found it expedient to abandon Heligoland, a strategic position at the mouth of the Elbe, receiving in exchange Zanzibar, off the east coast of Africa.

Stirring events were already developing in South Africa. The chief cause of difference between Germany and Britain had been

South Africa. our supremacy in colonial enterprise. Germany, already realising the necessity of colonial development,

had, in 1883, annexed Damaraland. The Boers, too, became active in Bechuanaland. During Gladstone's Ministry, however, in 1885, the Boers were driven from Vryburg by Sir Charles Warren. Northern Bechuanaland was proclaimed a British Protectorate, and Southern Bechuanaland, under the new title of British Bechuanaland, became a Crown Colony. In 1886 gold mines were discovered in the Transvaal, in the district called the Rand.

This led to an extraordinary inrush of an enterprising population, whose energy stood in strong contrast to the conservatism of the Boer farmers. This antagonism was the ember which in a few years was to set South Africa aflame. For the Boer Government, while they profited from the immigration, stubbornly resented the demand of the colonists for a share in the rights of citizenship.

Then Cecil Rhodes, a Cape Colony Englishman who had acquired vast wealth in the Kimberley diamond mines, realised the importance of entering into negotiations with the Matabele, whose lands were situated north of the Transvaal.

In 1886 a mission was sent to their king 'Lobengula, who granted to the British all mining rights in that region. In 1889, through the forethought of Rhodes, the British South Africa Company was established in this district, which was christened Rhodesia in honour of its founder. In the following year Rhodes became Prime Minister of Cape Colony. This extension of British influence northwards aroused the fierce hostility of the Transvaal Boers, for it set an inconvenient limit to the expansion of their Republic. So bitter was the resentment that Mr. Kruger, President of the Transvaal, attempted to counteract Rhodes by sending a Boer settlement into Matabeleland. He was given to understand that such a move would be considered an unfriendly act, and the project was abandoned. Along the east coast of Africa, too, British enterprise found new fields of conquest inland as far as Victoria Nyanza, while from Egypt our occupation was gradually extending along the Upper Nile. In 1884 the Congo State was recognised as independent. Africa was being gradually partitioned.

The apathy of the Government towards problems of domestic reforms was already weakening Lord Salisbury's hold on the electorate. The marvellous vitality of Gladstone, who seemed consumed by a desire to pass Home Rule as the last act of his long public career, contributed largely to the same end. Therefore when in July, 1892, the Conservatives appealed to the country for a renewal of confidence, they returned in a minority. The constituencies declared, by the small majority of 40, in favour of Gladstone's Home Rule policy. The aged statesman therefore formed his fourth administration. Sir William Harcourt was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. H. H. Asquith, Home Secretary; Lord Rosebery, Foreign Secretary; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Secre-

**Gladstone's
Fourth
Ministry,
1892-1894.**

tary for War; and Mr. John Morley, Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The first business of the Liberals was to bring in a Home Rule Bill, differing in some respects from that of 1886. According to the new measure, the Irish members were to retain their seats in the British Parliament, so as to preserve unimpaired the integrity of the United Kingdom. The Irish Parliament was to deal with Irish affairs, and was to consist of two Houses, the second chamber to correspond with the House of Lords except that it was constituted on the elective principle. The Bill passed through the House of Commons. When it reached the House of Lords it met with ignominious rejection (419-41), a somewhat rash defiance of the wishes of the British electorate as represented in the House of Commons.

Gladstone was now eighty-four years of age. The infirmities of age were becoming more pronounced. In 1894 he retired from the political arena, after sixty years of service. He died on May 19, 1898, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was a man of transcendent ability, possessed of unrivalled power in moving the hearts of men, of lofty moral character, a great scholar, and "a great Christian statesman." His first political triumphs were in the region of finance. His life embodies an era, the era of the rise of the democracy; and he has justly been described as "England's greatest Commoner."

On Gladstone's retirement Lord Rosebery became Prime Minister, with Sir William Harcourt as leader of the House of Commons.

The Home Rule question was not revived for the present, for Lord Rosebery was but a lukewarm supporter of its main principles. The activity of the Government was therefore directed into channels of administrative reforms. The chief of these was the Parish Councils Act

of 1894, a measure of considerable usefulness in that it placed the management of parish affairs in the hands of Councils popularly elected, a further extension of the principle of local government. In the field of finance the Budget of Sir William Harcourt opened out new sources of income to meet the ever-increasing national expenditure. The death duties, the chief feature in his financial edifice, were so graduated as to prove a prolific source of national revenue,

Meanwhile Lord Rosebery jealously guarded British interests abroad. Portentous happenings were maturing in the Far East, for the ancient Chinese Empire was showing signs of collapse. Her complete impotence was revealed in a war with Japan in 1894, from which the Japanese, who astonished Europe by their wonderful readiness to assimilate the arts of the West, emerged in triumph. European Powers, especially Russia and Germany, sought to profit from the fall of China by securing from her commercial concessions, or, in diplomatic phraseology, "spheres of influence." This implied a monopoly of trade within certain regions. The most aggressive European Power was Russia, who had secured Manchuria and Port Arthur, which became a strongly fortified port and the terminus of the Manchurian Railway. A few years later this brought her into conflict with Japan, with the direst results. Meanwhile Germany secured Kiaochow, which became a German Hong-Kong, and England Wei-hai-wei, in order to allay public clamour. Early in 1902 the place was abandoned as a naval base. This spoliation was resented by the Chinese. A number of patriots, called Boxers, animated by a passionate hatred of foreign influence, attacked the European legations at Peking in 1900. The rising was put down without difficulty. The principle of the "open door," by which trade with China should be open to all nations, was agreed to by all the Powers, in 1900, at the instance of the United States. Britain then made a commercial treaty with China, which was ratified by an Anglo-German agreement (1900).

In 1895 an expedition to Chitral, on the north-west frontier of India, was attended with success. But the Liberal party was fast sinking to the nadir of its fortunes. The Prime Ministership of Lord Rosebery was distasteful to the majority of the party, on account of his somewhat limp advocacy of the radical reforms set forth in the "Newcastle Programme" of 1890. The Cabinet itself was divided, the more advanced section following the leadership of Sir William Harcourt, while the moderates attached themselves to Rosebery. Thus rent in twain by internal dissensions, the Government not only lost its effectiveness, but was prejudiced in the eyes of the country. Nor were the Irish Nationalists fervent in their support now that Home Rule was indefinitely shelved. It was an intolerable situation from which they received welcome relief by a

chance vote on a side issue in June, 1895. It was not until the two rivals, Rosebery and Harcourt, retired, that the Liberals showed any signs of resuscitation under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

In July Parliament was dissolved. The Conservatives (including Liberal Unionists) were returned to power by a majority of 152.

**The Third
Salisbury
Ministry,
1895-1901.**

Thereupon Lord Salisbury formed his Third Administration. The composition of the new Government showed that the Liberal Unionists and Conservatives had now been welded together into one solid party.

The Prime Minister became Foreign Secretary; Mr. A. J. Balfour, Leader of the House of Commons; Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary; and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Duke of Devonshire (formerly Lord Hartington), who with Mr. Chamberlain had seceded from the Liberals, was also a member of the new Government. The Conservative majority was so large, the impotence of the small Liberal Opposition so pronounced, and the House of Lords so predominantly Conservative, that the position of Lord Salisbury and his colleagues was absolutely unassailable.

The Government was soon entangled in the coils of foreign events. In December, 1895, an unfortunate dispute arose between ourselves

Venezuela. and Venezuela, about the boundary of British Guiana.

The difficulty became one of extreme delicacy when the United States claimed the right to settle the matter. Subsequently arbitration gave Britain a favourable decision, but the tension was still severe when more menacing spectres appeared on the horizon.

One of these was in the East. The Treaty of Berlin in 1878 had imposed upon the Turk the obligation of carrying out reforms

**Armenia,
1894-1897.**

within his dominions, the necessity for which was urged upon him while Lord Rosebery was at the

Foreign Office. Soon ugly narratives began to reach England of the inhuman atrocities perpetrated by the Turks in Armenia. The Great Powers stood by in callous indifference, ready to check the aggrandisement of any one of them who might be impelled to interfere. Lord Salisbury, indeed, remonstrated; but the Sultan's reply was a ghastly series of indiscriminate massacres perpetrated upon the Armenian Christians, which sent a shudder of horror through Europe. Russia, whose intervention on former

occasions had been promptly checked by Britain, was not prepared to shed more blood. The other Powers looked on.

The Turkish question was complicated by the action of the Greek population of Crete. Having presumed to go to war with the Turks in spite of their unpreparedness, the Cretans **Crete, 1897.** were easily overwhelmed and sought for peace. The Powers then intervened. The Turkish troops were to be withdrawn; the island was to be garrisoned by European soldiers; the Cretans, though they expressed a fervent desire to be united to Greece, were placed apart under the government of the Greek Prince George. A more active intervention on the part of Britain would perhaps have involved her in a general war. Nevertheless the sufferings of the Armenians tended to weaken the position of the Ministry.

Meanwhile events were marching to another crisis in Egypt. The just and peaceful administration of Lord Cromer reconciled the Egyptians to the advantages of British rule, **The Soudan, 1896-1899.** while Lord (then Sir Herbert) Kitchener organised a powerful weapon of war from among the Egyptians, the efficiency of which was soon to be tested against the fierce fanatics of the Soudan, then ruled by the Khalifa. This successor of the Mahdi had built a strong fort at Omdurman, near Khartoum. His aggressive attitude was becoming menacing when Kitchener moved against him. Advancing from Dongola he crushed the Khalifa's troops at Omdurman in September, 1898, and conquered the Soudan. This done, we began to establish in this wild region the reign of law and order, and to introduce the arts of civilisation.

Our success, however, kindled the enmity of France, with whom we had recently been at variance on the Lower Niger. A small French force under Major Marchand, having advanced **Fashoda, 1898.** from the coast, had established itself at Fashoda, on the Upper Nile, in what was hitherto the Khalifa's territory. Marchand therefore came into contact with the British, who had advanced from Omdurman. But France was not in a position to press forward her claims. Eventually, in 1899, a convention was agreed to which recognised the whole valley of the Nile as under British influence; while the Nile, the Niger, and the Zambesi were to be open to the commerce of all nations. The conquest of the Soudan was an important step in bringing Central Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo under British rule.

Meanwhile, in 1898, America had been at war with Spain, which resulted in the cession of the Philippine Islands to America, and in Cuba becoming an American Protectorate.

The most disastrous episode in the history of the Salisbury Ministry was the South African or Boer War. Since the energetic action of Cecil Rhodes had brought about the annexation of Rhodesia, the tide of vast events had been gradually rising. The persistent refusal of the Boer Government to admit the non-Dutch inhabitants—Outlanders, as they were called—to full rights of citizenship, led in December, 1895, to a dramatic incident. Dr. Jameson, an impetuous officer of the South African Company, at the head of a handful of mounted troops, made a raid into the Transvaal on behalf of the Outlanders, who were intended to rise in revolt at Johannesburg. He was crushed without difficulty, then sent to England, where he and his officers were imprisoned. The rash act had important results: (i) The race hatred between British and Dutch, not only in the Transvaal but throughout the whole of South Africa, was inflamed and assumed menacing proportions. Cecil Rhodes, who was Premier of Cape Colony at the time, found his party driven from power, being replaced by a Government in close sympathy with the Dutch; while Kruger, President of the Transvaal, laboured more assiduously to unite the Dutch against the British. (ii) Germany expressed her sympathy with the Boers, congratulating Kruger on his success against Jameson; though the danger that Germany might render active assistance was unfounded. (iii) The reform movement in the Transvaal received a severe blow. The leaders were condemned, and Kruger set his face defiantly against any reasonable concessions. Moreover, he made elaborate preparations for war.

The next few years were, therefore, a period of considerable suspense. On their part the Boers continued to buy arms and ammunition in view of the war which they believed inevitable. The generous terms wrung by him after Majuba seem to have given Kruger overweening confidence in his dealings with the British, and an exalted opinion of the prowess of his fellow-farmers. He believed that Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, and Milner, our High Commissioner in South Africa, chafed at the independence of the two Republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, as derogatory to British

**The Jameson
Raid, 1895.**

**Outbreak of
War, 1899.**



prestige. On their part the British Government do not appear to have been unwilling to accept the grievances of the Outlanders as a sufficient *casus belli*. They made repeated futile attempts to bring Kruger to a reasonable view of the situation. A Conference at Bloemfontein in 1899 came to nothing. But whatever grounds there may have been for Dutch resentment at British interference with the internal affairs of the Transvaal, when the two Republics combined to invade Natal and Cape Colony in October, the Government had no alternative but to prosecute the war to the end. No one doubted what would be the ultimate result, though Kruger apparently was sanguine enough that his brave Boers, assisted by the Dutch of the Cape, would ultimately triumph.

The beginning of the war was a triumph for the agility and marksmanship of the Boers. Our troops on the frontiers were brushed aside. Before the end of October Kimberley, Mafeking and Ladysmith were besieged. Disaster followed disaster in rapid succession, three divisions of our army corps being defeated. An attempt to relieve Kimberley resulted in a severe reverse at Magersfontein. Our generals sustained an equally disastrous check at Stormberg. It became obvious that the Government at home had seriously underestimated the enormous difficulty of the task they had undertaken. Immense forces were therefore despatched to the scene of war under Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, in 1900. Their brilliant strategy and rapid strokes brought relief to Kimberley in February. Less than a fortnight later one of the ablest of the Dutch generals, Cronje, was captured. In March Lord Roberts entered Bloemfontein. These operations on the west relieved the stress on Ladysmith, so valiantly defended by General White. The Boer positions were stormed, and Ladysmith was relieved on February 28. In May the Orange River Colony was annexed. Having been delayed at Bloemfontein for some weeks by an outbreak of typhoid, Lord Roberts advanced against the Transvaal in May. On June 4 he entered Pretoria. Mafeking had been relieved in May. In October the Transvaal was annexed.

But the war was not yet over. The Boers carried on a desperate guerilla warfare, not unattended with success. The work of suppressing it was left in the hands of Lord Kitchener. In spite of his brilliant efforts, the Boers held out with grim tenacity. The country was desolated far and

**The War,
1899-1902.**

**Peace of
Vereeniging,
1902.**

wide, and a bitter racial hatred engendered. However, on May 31, 1902, the terms of peace were agreed upon at Vereeniging. (i) The Boers agreed to recognise King Edward (Queen Victoria had died in January, 1901) as their lawful sovereign. (ii) "Military administration in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony will at the earliest possible date be succeeded by civil government; and representative institutions, leading up to self-government, will be introduced." (iii) The British Government made a grant of £3,000,000 to restore people to their homes. The war had cost us £230,000,000.

While the clash of arms was still rending the air in South Africa, our Australian colonies were marching onward in the path of progress. The first settlements in Australia were largely convict settlements. In 1787 the first batch of criminals was shipped to New South Wales. They were the founders of Sydney. In 1804 convicts were sent to Tasmania. Later a large number of settlers were attracted there by the possibilities of sheep-farming, and some time afterwards by the discovery of goldfields. Tasmania and New South Wales had already protested against being made the receptacle for the refuse of our society. The discovery of gold settled the question. In 1837 Melbourne was named after Queen Victoria's first Prime Minister. In 1851 it became the capital of the new colony of Victoria. Already in 1836 Adelaide had become the capital of South Australia. Tasmania became a separate colony in 1856, and Queensland three years later. New Zealand had received its first colonists in 1839; it was then recognised as a dependency of New South Wales. It was not until 1875 that it became a single colony. Western Australia, first founded in 1829, received self-government in 1890.

The five colonies of Australia which had for some years enjoyed representative government had constitutions which differed in details, though they were all framed on the same principles. For some years the machinery of government did not run smoothly in Victoria and other colonies. These being surmounted, the colonists themselves advocated federation. In 1885 a Federal Council for Australia was set up. In 1900 an Australian Commonwealth Bill found acceptance amongst them. On January 1, 1901, the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia was celebrated. The Duke and Duchess of York inaugurated the Federal Parliament. Their voyage, in the

**The Aus-
tralian
Colonies.**

**Australian
Common-
wealth, 1901.**

Ophir, was extended to New Zealand and Canada, and was a magnificent success in its effect upon the loyalty of Britons beyond the seas.

The General Election of 1900 returned a Conservative majority. The war in South Africa was still raging, and it was felt that the Ministry which had entered upon it should have the responsibility of ending it. Moreover, the Liberals had not yet made up their differences. Lord Salisbury remained at the head of the Government, with Mr. Balfour as Leader of the House of Commons; Mr. Chamberlain remained at the Colonial Office; Lord Lansdowne became Foreign Secretary. In January, 1901, Queen Victoria died at the advanced age of eighty-two. Three years before the whole Empire had celebrated the sixtieth year of her reign amid much pomp and magnificence. It was called the Diamond Jubilee. That event, which brought to England representatives from our self-governing colonies, exemplified the close connection between Britain and the Empire; while the assistance given by the Colonies in the South African War demonstrated their readiness to assist the mother-country in time of need, in return for the protection afforded them by our fleet.

CHIEF DATES.

Reform Bill	1866-1867
Sadowa	1866
Franco-German War	1870
Suez Canal Shares bought	1875
Russo-Turkish War	1877
Berlin Treaty	1878
Zulu War	1879
Majuba Hill	1881
Reform Bill	1884
Death of Gordon	1885
Home Rule Bill	1886
Free Education	1891
Parish Councils	1894
Mr. Gladstone retires	1894
Jameson Raid	1895
Death of Gladstone	1898
Omdurman ¹	1898
South African War	1899-1902
Australian Commonwealth formed	1900-1901
Death of Queen Victoria	1901

ADMINISTRATIONS, 1865-1910.

Russell	1865-1866	Salisbury	1886-1892
Derby	1866-1868	Gladstone	1892-1894
Disraeli	1868 (Feb.-Dec.)	Rosebery	1894-1895
Gladstone	1868-1874	Salisbury	1895-1902
Disraeli	1874-1880	Balfour	1902-1905
Gladstone	1880-1885	Campbell-	
Salisbury	1885-1886	Bannerman	1905-1908
Gladstone	1886 (Feb.-Aug.)	Asquith	1908-

GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND VICEROYS OF INDIA.

Hastings	1813-1823	Mayo	1869-1872
Amherst	1823-1828	Northbrook	1872-1876
Bentinck	1828-1835	Lytton	1876-1880
Auckland	1836-1842	Ripon	1880-1884
Ellenborough	1842-1844	Dufferin	1884-1888
Hardinge	1844-1848	Lansdowne	1888-1893
Dalhousie	1848-1856	Elgin	1894-1898
Canning	1856-1862	Curzon	1899-1905
Elgin	1862-1863	Minto	1905
Lawrence	1864-1869		

CHAPTER X

WALES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

WALES shared with England in the industrial changes of the period. Before the development of the iron and coal industries in the nineteenth century, the Welsh were a pastoral race dependent on their herds and flocks for support. Most of the farmhouses were small, and the population was scattered. In Tudor times the Welsh gentry hunted the red deer on the mountain sides. The hills of Glamorgan were celebrated for a breed of horses, while the plains produced good corn in plenty. Welsh mutton was famous in the seventeenth century. Other industries existed on a small scale. James I empowered the Earl of Pembroke to work the silver mines of Cardiganshire, which was rich also in copper and lead mines, then controlled by Sir Carbery Price. One of the earliest notices of copper-smelting on a large scale at Swansea was in 1690, though there existed smelting-houses long before. Robert Mansel, Vice-Admiral of England, used Pembrokeshire coal about 1615 in his glass works at Milford Haven. Iron was produced in Monmouthshire in 1588, and at Radyr, near Cardiff. Coal was worked extensively in North Wales at an earlier period. Woollen cloths and flannels were manufactured throughout the country at small mills driven by mountain streams, until the industry was destroyed by the cotton and woollen industries of the north of England.

These infant industries, more especially the iron industry, developed rapidly during the eighteenth century. Many of the ironmasters of the south-east of England, after the exhaustion of the woods of Sussex, found Wales a profitable field of enterprise, where wood and iron ore existed in large quantities, charcoal being then used in the manufacture of iron. One of the earliest instances of the use of coal in the manufacture of iron was at the iron works at Caerphilly, about 1750. A few years

later the great works at Dowlais rose into importance, being followed by numerous others, especially in Monmouthshire and at Swansea, where, we are told, the men worked for twenty-four hours without a break. About 1750 earthenware works were erected at Swansea, a town which became famous for its beautiful execution in opaque china. Swansea porcelain developed later. But the chief industry there, as well as in the districts around Neath and Llanely, was copper-smelting. It was here that Wood is said to have produced the copper for the coining of which he obtained a patent from Walpole in 1722. When, on account of Swift's fierce attack in the Drapier's Letters, the patent was withdrawn, Wood's works failed.

During the first half of the century considerable masses of people congregated around the slate quarries of Carnarvonshire and Merionethshire, the lead, coal, and iron mines of

**Industrial
Development.**

Flintshire, and the copper mines of Anglesey. But

the most phenomenal development was on the South Wales coalfield, which covers an area of nearly 1,000 square miles. The manufacture of iron was followed by that of steel and tin-plate. In 1830 the fame of Welsh steam coal began, an association being formed in London ten years later for its development. Cardiff, the chief port for the export of coal, increased in population ten-fold in forty years (1801-1841). The export trade of Swansea, Llanely and Newport likewise increased enormously between 1830 and 1840. In 1801 coal was sent to Cardiff from Merthyr on the backs of mules, three or four of which were in charge of a woman or a boy. Such were the earliest means of communication in these industrial centres. In 1792 the Monmouth-

**Communica-
tion.**

shire canal was opened to convey the products of the hill districts to Newport. Two years later the

Glamorganshire canal was opened, and in 1798 another from Swansea to Brecon. In 1804 the first locomotive in South Wales was seen at Merthyr. It travelled at the rate of five miles an hour, pulling ten tons of iron and a number of persons. In 1835 the Taff Vale Railway was projected.

The prospect of higher wages attracted the Welsh peasant from the meadow and the mountain side to the "works." At Merthyr it appears that the Carmarthenshire men, the Pembrokeshire men, and others, lived apart in separate quarters to maintain some degree of social unity.

**Industrial
Unrest.**

There was also considerable immigration from Bristol and the

north of England, which gave the mining districts a very cosmopolitan character. The employers were often heartless taskmasters. The *truck system* was in vogue, by which the workers were paid partly in provisions supplied at stores attached to the works. Although the system was suppressed by Act of Parliament in 1831, it still prevailed in many places in Wales as late as 1849. The industrial evils which existed in England were aggravated in Wales by national prejudices: for whereas the majority of the workers were monoglot Welshmen, the employers were largely English capitalists, who showed no care for those by whose energy their wealth was accumulated, and of whose language and characteristics they were utterly ignorant. It was this that accounted in great part for the severity of the Chartist movement in Wales, which broke out on November 4, 1839 (see *ante*, sub Chartistism).

The Rebecca Riots which broke out in 1843 "were provoked by local grievances, to which the peasantry were subjected, in the harsh, if not illegal, exaction of turnpike tolls—
Social Discontent. a burden severely felt by the small farmers, who, in many districts of Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire, convey coal and lime from great distances, in small carts, over hilly roads. They broke out into open violence from many combined causes—amongst the more prominent of which were the abuses which characterised the administration of turnpike roads." The small farmers of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire often had to traverse twenty or thirty miles to the line kilns; and the landlords so multiplied the turnpike gates at every few miles that the cost of the lime was often more than doubled. There was also "an unconquerable aversion to the principle, and to many of the provisions, of the new Poor Law; and a large increase in the amount, and much inequality in the apportionment, of the rent charges collected in lieu of tithes under the Commutation Act, and often payable to lay owners or lessees. There was also a succession of wet and unproductive harvests."

The Welsh peasantry adopted a curious way of venting their grievances. Men dressed in women's clothes assembled after dark, uprooted toll gates, and defied the police authorities. Acts of violence multiplied. Indeed, it soon became necessary to call out the military, and a strong body of troops was introduced into West Wales. In June the rioters marched into Carmarthen, and attacked the

Rebecca Riots.

Workhouse before they were scattered by a body of cavalry. There were minor conflicts in various districts, which ended in bloodshed. The whole affair seems to have been organised with unusual skill and secrecy, so that special police agents were sent hither from London to unravel it. But a Commission appointed to investigate the grievances found that there existed just cause for complaint, so that between the years 1844-7 several Acts were passed with reference to turnpike roads in Wales.

The chief feature of the story of Wales during the century, however, was the silent awakening of the people, and the growth of Welsh nationalism. As we have seen, the Hanoverian Governments showed marked hostility to the national sentiments of the Welsh. To prevent the Welsh language invading the law-courts, it was enacted in 1732-3 that the English language alone could be used in the Courts of Great Sessions and other courts in the Principality. In 1746 an attempt was made to suppress the term Wales even as a geographical expression, by enacting that the name England should, in all future legislation, be taken to include Wales. In 1830, in spite of the vigorous protests of some of the Welsh members of Parliament, who urged that the abolition of the Courts of Great Sessions would entail considerable expense upon suitors from Wales, and that, as Welsh was the language of the lower classes, the juries and judges should be Welsh-speaking, those Courts were finally abolished, and the jurisdiction of the English superior courts extended over Wales. The English judges who travelled on the Welsh circuits often failed to appreciate the distinct characteristics of the people, with the result that grave injustice was frequently done to Welsh suitors. This Act may be regarded as the nadir of Welsh nationalism.

The spirit of nepotism which had prevailed in the Church during the two preceding centuries continued in all its grossness during the first half of the nineteenth. In 1836 Lord Llanover drew attention to it in the House of Commons.

The Church. The most notorious case was that of Bishop Luxmore of St. Asaph (1815). His total income, together with that of his five relatives, exceeded the whole amount received by all the working clergy of the diocese put together. Even as late as 1871 the dioceses were sadly neglected, and churches were allowed to fall into ruins. However, a change had already set in. In 1827 St. David's College, Lampeter, was founded to educate candidates for the Church of

England ministry. This was also one of the first steps in the development of higher education in Wales. In 1836 Commissioners were appointed to prepare and lay before Parliament a scheme best adapted for preventing the appointment of any clergyman not fully conversant with the Welsh language to any benefice in Wales in any parish the majority of the inhabitants of which did not understand the English language. In 1837 provision was made by which marriages could be celebrated in the Welsh tongue. In the following year it was enacted that the Bishops of the Welsh sees "may refuse institution to any spiritual person who cannot preach, administer the Sacraments, and converse in Welsh."

The sentiment of nationalism was a much more potent influence among the Nonconformist bodies. In 1800 the Wesleyan Methodists, through the initiative of Dr. Coke, a native of Brecon, established a Welsh mission, which was attended with extraordinary success. In 1809 they started the first successful Welsh monthly magazine, called *Yr Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd*. Other similar publications followed: In 1814 *Seren Gomer*, the organ of the Welsh Baptists, appeared. It was among the first newspapers in Welsh, and was edited by Joseph Harris. Some years later *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* appeared. During the century, too, there were a number of religious revivals which deepened the spiritual life of the people and strengthened Nonconformity. Several seminaries for the education of Nonconformist ministers were founded, notably the Baptist College at Abergavenny (1807), which was afterwards transferred to Cardiff, and that at Haverfordwest (1839). The Calvinistic Methodists established a college at Bala in 1837, and at Trevecca in 1842.

No Welsh constituency was represented by a Nonconformist until 1866. This was due partly to the fact that English political publications were little read by the Welsh, whose literature was mainly religious; partly also to a belief that politics were profane. Wales was represented then by its county families, and the elections were largely clan contests, which were frequently fought out with considerable bitterness. The contest for Flint in 1734 is said to have cost £70,000, while the elections for Carmarthen in 1831 were accompanied by great rioting, and fresh elections had to be held. About 1859 the Anglican landlord and Nonconformist tenant for the first time came into real conflict in politics. The causes were (1)

Nonconformity.

Political Awakening.

traditional religious differences, especially the payment of tithes; (2) insecurity of tenure, and the landlord's tendency to raise the rent when the farmer's labour had given increased value to the land; (3) evictions after the election of 1859, especially in Merionethshire, where the influence of Sir Watkin Wynn had been challenged by a rival candidate.

In 1868 Gladstone carried a resolution advocating the disestablishment of the Irish Church. This turned men's minds to the position of the Welsh Church, and from that moment Disestablishment became the rallying cry of Welsh Nonconformists. The 1868 elections were fought out with unparalleled bitterness, Wales for the first time returning a number of Nonconformist Liberals. It was a stroke of temerity which resulted in further evictions. The most influential of the Welsh members was Henry Richard, who represented Merthyr Tydfil. Earnest and persuasive, he succeeded in convincing Gladstone that the cause of Wales was just. The election of 1880 in Wales gave a still more emphatic demand for Disestablishment. In the following year the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act was passed, which prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday in the Principality. It was a further recognition of the separate claims of Wales in legislation.

The movement in Parliament on behalf of Disestablishment began in 1886, when Mr. Dillwyn, the member for Swansea, moved that "The Church of England in Wales is an anomaly and an injustice which ought no longer to exist."

Anti-Tithe War, 1886.

Of the 34 members for Wales and Monmouthshire 28 voted in its favour. But the motion was lost by 12 votes. Following closely upon this rejection, and in part due to it, came the anti-tithe war in North Wales and Cardiganshire in the summer of 1886. It was occasioned by the refusal of the Nonconformist parishioners to pay tithes to the rector of the parish, who ministered to a handful of people. This was aggravated by the refusal of incumbents to grant an abatement at a time when a fall in prices had made it almost impossible for the farmer to pay his rent. There were distraints, followed by scenes of violence. But the Welsh farmer forgot that tithe was a charge on the land, the abolition of which would inevitably lead to an increase in the rent. What was needed was the application of this charge on the land to a truly national object.

In 1892 a land bill introduced into Parliament by Mr. Tom Ellis, to appoint a Commission of three men empowered to fix the conditions of tenure and a fair rent, was rejected, though a Land Commission was appointed in the following year. No one laboured more enthusiastically on behalf of the special needs of Wales than Mr. Tom Ellis, the member for Merionethshire, who became Chief Liberal Whip in 1894. Other prominent members of the Young Wales party were Mr. (now Sir) S. T. Evans, who became Solicitor-General in 1908, and Mr. David Lloyd George, of whom more will be said hereafter. In 1895 Mr. Asquith introduced a Bill for the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church, but it failed to pass into law. The feeling in Wales has been strong in its favour since 1880.

The educational edifice, which to-day is the pride of Wales, was built up during the century. In elementary education much was done through the benevolent efforts of the National Education Society and the British Society. The fact that the former was closely connected with the Church of England restricted, to some extent, the scope of its influence among the Nonconformists, whose great educational force was the Sunday School.

The provision for both elementary and higher education was, however, most inadequate, while the need for it became more imperative with the vast increase of population in the industrial centres. Hence in 1846 a Commission was appointed by the Government of the day to inquire into the state of education in the Principality of Wales, especially into the means afforded to the labouring classes of acquiring a knowledge of the English language. The Report (Lord Lingen's Report) drew a terrible picture of the deplorable conditions of life and of the wretched inefficiency of elementary education in Wales. It was thought that the Commissioners had gone beyond the scope of their inquiry in their severe indictment of the morals of the working classes. For this reason the inquiry for many years afterwards was known as, "The Treason of the Blue Books" (Brad y Llyfrau Gleision). However, the revelations stimulated the efforts of the people and had a salutary effect upon the Government. In 1848 the Collegiate School at Llandovery was founded, and in 1853 schools for girls at Llandaff and Denbigh.

In 1846 Wales possessed but one training college for teachers,

namely, that at Brecon, which was shortly afterwards transferred to Swansea, where it became a secondary school. In 1862 a training college was founded at Bangor for the purpose of preparing teachers for elementary schools. Its establishment was in large measure due to the efforts of Sir Hugh Owen, whose energies were afterwards directed towards procuring for Wales a national University College. A few years later, in 1870, the Elementary Education Act was passed. Partly on account of the existing inadequacy of elementary education facilities, partly on account of the enthusiasm with which the Welsh people availed themselves of the advantages thus placed within their reach, the act proved more beneficial to Wales than to any other part of the country.

The succeeding generation witnessed remarkable advance in the educational progress of Wales. The first-fruit of the agitation started by Sir Hugh Owen was the establishment of Aberystwyth College, in 1872, where unsectarian education alone was provided. For ten years the institution received no support in the form of a Government grant. It was maintained by the voluntary contributions of the Welsh people, who looked upon the College as a national institution of which they felt proud. "At the present moment the public educational system of Wales is equal to that established in any part of the Empire, and is the result partly of a general movement throughout the kingdom, but in a still larger degree its completeness and success are due to the spontaneous desire for education among the Welsh people themselves."

In 1880 the Government was prevailed upon to appoint a Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Aberdare, "to inquire into the present condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, and to recommend the measures which they may think advisable for improving and supplementing the provision that is now, or might be, made available for such education in the Principality." Monmouthshire was subsequently added. This is generally regarded as the beginning of secondary education in Wales. The Committee found that on account of the existence of a strong sentiment of nationality, the preponderance of Welsh over English outside the towns, and of the strength of Nonconformity, the claim of Wales for special treatment was justified. The recommendations of the Committee,

Sir Hugh Owen.

Zeal for Education.

Departmental Committee, 1880.

which were favourably received by the Welsh people, soon bore fruit. In 1883 a college was established at Cardiff; and in the following year another at Bangor. These colleges, together with that at Aberystwyth, received substantial grants from the Treasury, a very significant circumstance in that it implied a further recognition on the part of the Government of the principle that Wales was entitled to independent treatment.

Welsh members of Parliament then agitated for the establishment of a complete system of secondary schools. The way was prepared by the Local Government Act of 1888, which, in **Intermediate Education Act, 1889.** setting up County Councils, provided a popularly elected council with powers to levy a rate for the purpose of secondary education, and made easy the constitution of the new governing bodies. In 1889 the Welsh Intermediate Education Act was passed. It constituted for each county and county borough a local authority called the Joint Education Committee of the County Council. These Committees were authorised to draw up schemes for the intermediate and technical education of the inhabitants of the county or county boroughs. The Act also provided for the levying of a $\frac{1}{2}d.$ rate in the counties by the county councils, which were empowered also to use the educational endowments within their county. In consequence of the Act Intermediate Schools were established throughout Wales. In 1902 the powers of the County Governing body were transferred to the Local Education Authority.

For the complete development of the system it became necessary to constitute a Central Board, whose primary duty would be to examine and inspect the Intermediate Schools in accordance with the Treasury requirements, and to regulate the curricula in accordance with the peculiar circumstances of the country. The scheme constituting this Central Welsh Board was approved of by the Government in 1896. By it Wales obtained freedom "to guide its own educational destiny; and it affords another instance of the determination of the Welsh people to give to their educational institutions a thoroughly popular character."

The educational edifice had already received its coping-stone in the creation of a University for Wales, in 1893, the **The University of Wales, 1893.** three University Colleges of Cardiff, Aberystwyth and Bangor having petitioned Parliament with that

object. The opposition of St. David's College, Lampeter, was upheld by the House of Lords. But a motion for the rejection of the Charter having been defeated, the resolution of the House of Lords was ignored, and the Charter of the University was sealed in November, 1893. It is a teaching university, and has the right of conferring degrees. Lord Aberdare became the first Chancellor of the University, and on his death the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII. By the University of Wales Act (1902), graduates of the University were given the same privileges and exemptions enjoyed by graduates of other British Universities.

One of the most unique institutions of the Welsh is the National Eisteddfod. Before the establishment of the National Eisteddfod Association in 1880, through the efforts of Sir Hugh

The National Eisteddfod.

Owen and Sir T. Marchant Williams, the National Eisteddfod was held very irregularly. It is now the nucleus around which national ideals crystallise. It has far-reaching possibilities as a popular educative force, and there exists an intimate connexion between it and Welsh education. It encourages Welsh literature ; it is an assembly where representative Welshmen from all parts meet once a year ; and it has no religious or political complexion. It is thoroughly democratic in its organisation. One of the earliest Eisteddfodau was that held by Lord Rhys at Cardigan in 1176. About the year 1500 another was held at Caerwys in Flintshire ; while in 1568 Queen Elizabeth granted a Commission for holding another there, with the object, mainly, of licensing bards and minstrels, and preventing other unlicensed rhymers from travelling throughout the country. Those unrecognised by the licensed bards would be treated as vagabonds. The chief prizes in the competitions were a silver chair and a silver harp. Wales would not have made its phenomenal advance in education and freedom of thought had it not been for the Eisteddfod.

CHAPTER XI

EDWARD VII. 1901-1910

Born 1841; married, 1863, Alexandra of Denmark.

Edward VII.—Balfour's Ministry—Education Act—Licensing Act—Protection—Anglo-French Alliance—Anglo-Japanese Alliance—Campbell-Bannerman's Ministry—Asquith's Ministry—Old Age Pensions—Imperial Conference—Lloyd George and the Budget of 1909—The Veto of the House of Lords.

ON the death of Queen Victoria her eldest son became King as Edward VII. From his boyhood he had been the object of special care. As Prince of Wales he had been warmly interested not only in whatever made for the welfare of the people, but singularly tactful in his dealings with the two great parties. He came to the throne at the beginning of a new epoch. During Victoria's long reign the constitution of the country had been moulded into a democracy, the Crown raising itself above party controversy and typifying the unity of the nation. It was confidently believed that King Edward would uphold the same constitutional position. A great traveller, he showed unrivalled sagacity in his dealings with foreign courts; and no sovereign ever laboured with such assiduity, wisdom, and success in maintaining the peace of Europe. He is justly called "Edward the Peacemaker."

The Salisbury Government had not been in office a few months before it showed signs of crumbling. The war in South Africa still dragged out its weary length, being prolonged by incapacity and mismanagement. To meet the vastly increased expenditure over 70 millions had to be borrowed, and new taxes were placed on sugar and exported coal. The tax on sugar was condemned on account of its extensive use in many industries, the latter on economic grounds. Both raised a loud outcry.

In 1902 a Factory Act prohibited the employment of children

under twelve in factory or workshop. The Clerical Tithes Act, by which clergymen of the Church of England whose incomes were derived from tithes were relieved of half their rates, was renewed for a further term of years. But the chief work of the year 1902 was to settle the education difficulty. A new **Education Act, 1902.** bill was introduced by Mr. Balfour on March 24. It received the royal assent on December 18. According to this Act the education authority was to be the council of a county or county borough, acting through an Education Committee, the majority of which must be elected by the Council. The effect of this was to do away with the School Boards set up by the Education Act of 1870. The voluntary schools were to be supported by money obtained from the rates, though not more than one-third of the managers of those schools were to be chosen by the Council. The majority were to be chosen by the Anglican Church authorities. This clause was felt to be an injustice to the Nonconformists, in that they were being compelled to pay for the support of schools where denominational religious teaching with which they disagreed was carried on. A "Passive Resistance" movement was started. A large number refused to pay the rate, choosing rather to go to prison. In the voluntary schools a religious test was to be imposed on the teachers, so that a sort of "dual control," that of the education authority and of the Established Church, was set up.

In Wales especially, where Nonconformity is so strong, the Bill was vigorously opposed, so much so that its administration entirely broke down. Consequently a **Default Bill, 1904.** **Local Authority** was introduced in 1904 to coerce the Welsh County Councils; for the managers of voluntary schools were empowered to keep their schools efficient, on condition that they would be reimbursed by the Government.

In 1902 the Government passed a Licensing measure, amending the law as to licences and the registration of clubs, and calculated to reduce drunkenness. Their main effort, however, was the **Licensing Bills, 1902-1904.** **Local Authority** was the Licensing Act of 1904, the chief feature of which was the grant of compensation to a person whose licence was not renewed, thus creating a vested interest in public-house licences, which hitherto had been granted for a year only, and were renewable at the discretion of the Licensing Justices.

The Budget of 1902 made a serious innovation in our financial

policy in that it imposed a duty on wheat, flour and corn. This meant a reversion to the bread tax of former days, **Bread Tax.** and was calculated to destroy the popularity of the Ministry; for it was believed that Free Trade was to be abandoned, and the policy of Protection once more introduced, so as to benefit the agricultural interest.

On May 31, as already stated, the Peace of Vereeniging was signed, bringing the South African War to an end. On June 26 the Coronation was to have taken place, but was postponed through the sudden illness of the King, the **The Coronation.** news of which came upon the country like a clap of thunder from a fair sky. Happily the King recovered, and the Coronation was celebrated amid dazzling splendour on August 9. It was memorable on account of the presence here of Indian feudatory princes and the Prime Ministers of our self-governing colonies, in proof of the growth of an imperial sentiment between the mother country and the oversea dominions. This sentiment had already received an impetus with the visit of the heir-apparent, the Duke of York, to Australia to inaugurate its new Commonwealth in 1901.

In July, 1902, Lord Salisbury resigned, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Mr. Balfour. The principal changes which took place were that Mr. Ritchie became Chancellor of **Mr. Balfour's** the Exchequer instead of Sir M. Hicks-Beach, and **Ministry,** **1902-1905.** Mr. Akers-Douglas, became Home Secretary. In May, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain, who had visited South Africa in the previous year, startled the country by entering upon a momentous campaign advocating the abandonment of our Free Trade fiscal principles in favour of Preferential Tariffs. This implied the taxation of food-stuffs. He failed to persuade the Ministry to adopt his scheme, resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Alfred Lyttelton (September). The Prime Minister did not altogether repudiate Mr. Chamberlain's proposal, but advocated Retaliation. This led to the resignation of the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Ritchie the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord George Hamilton, Secretary for India, their places being taken by the Marquis of Londonderry, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. Brodrick respectively. There were many other secessions from the ranks, the most important being Mr. Winston Churchill.

In March, 1902, the Brussels Convention was signed by all the

chief Powers, the object of which was to regulate the sugar industry Britain became a party to it, as it was calculated to encourage the industry in the West Indies. The net result was to establish a protective duty on sugar coming into Britain. This was found to injure that part of British trade which depended on sugar as a raw material, and the attitude of the Government was looked upon as another step in the direction of Protection.

The chief triumphs of the reign were in foreign policy. In 1902 operations were undertaken against the Mullah in Somaliland, to punish him for his attacks upon tribes under British protection. After scattering his forces, we withdrew our troops in 1904. Greater difficulty was experienced in Venezuela, the Government of which had committed arbitrary acts against British subjects during a series of internal revolutions. Britain and Germany, acting in concert, entered on a punitive expedition. Some Venezuelan warships were sunk, and their fort at Puerto Cabello fired upon. Eventually the matter in dispute was referred to the Hague Tribunal.

In 1903 King Edward went on a Continental tour of great significance, visiting Portugal, Italy and France. The tour cemented the cordial relations between these countries and Britain. Of similar significance was the King's visit to Ireland at a time when the Irish Land Purchase Act, from which a great deal was expected, was about to come into operation. But the most important result of the King's travels was the *Entente Cordiale* between Britain and France. This Anglo-French agreement, signed in April, 1904, brought about a settlement of questions in dispute between the two countries in Egypt, Morocco, Newfoundland and other parts of the world. The *entente* was hailed with many manifestations of joy.

In India the Government came to an agreement with the Ameer of Afghanistan. But there were difficulties in Tibet with regard to boundaries and the non-fulfilment of pledges given in 1900. The affair acquired greater significance in that two Tibetan missions had visited Russia. Thereupon a mission, accompanied by a military escort under Colonel Younghusband, advanced into Tibet, and after considerable difficulty reached the capital, Lhasa. In September, 1904, a Convention

was agreed upon which placed our frontier there on a more satisfactory footing. On January 1, 1903, Lord Curzon proclaimed

The Durbar, 1903. King Edward as Emperor, at Delhi, amid a scene of great splendour. Curzon's aggressive policy, however, did not meet with the full approval of the Government.

Nor did he approve of the military schemes of Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief in India. Therefore, in August, 1905, he resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Minto.

The occupation of Port Arthur by Russia was regarded by Japan with considerable indignation. But her anxiety at Russian advance

Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902. was to a large extent removed by the treaty with Great Britain entered into early in 1902. Its chief provisions were: (i) The two Powers agreed to be neutral in case either was attacked by another Power. (ii)

Mutual assistance in case either was attacked by a third Power. (iii) Neither Power would enter into an agreement with a third Power to the detriment of the other.

Two years later war broke out between Japan and Russia. The European Power suffered disastrously, her armies being scattered,

North Sea Outrage, 1904. her fleet sunk, and Port Arthur seized. An incident which might have involved Britain in the war occurred in the North Sea. The Russian fleet, while on its way

to the East, fired on some British trawlers. One ship was sunk, several damaged, and some of our sailors killed. Fortunately the two Governments agreed to refer the matter to a tribunal appointed under the Hague Convention. In 1905 the Commission found that the Russian admiral's action was not justifiable. Russia expressed regret, and made amends.

Apart from the triumphs of Lord Lansdowne at the Foreign Office, the Government's policy gave little satisfaction. An Aliens

Aliens Act, 1905. Act (1905) forbade the landing of undesirable aliens except at ports where immigration officers were appointed. An Immigration Board was set up at each

of these ports, whose duty was to sanction or prevent the landing of immigrants.

During the passing of the Education Bill (1902), and the Licensing Bill (1904), the two great controversial measures of the Government,

Ireland. the Irish Nationalists in the House of Commons supported the Ministry. It was agreed that Ireland in return should receive some administrative reforms of the mock

Court at Dublin, a scheme of Devolution, and a cessation of the policy of coercion. The Government failing to redeem its pledge through the menacing clamours of the Orangemen in Ulster, Mr. George Wyndham, the Irish Secretary, resigned. He was succeeded by Mr. Walter Long, in 1905.

Meanwhile it was becoming abundantly clear that the Conservatives had outstayed their mandate. The by-elections were everywhere damaging. The party was rent in twain on the question of Protection. But nothing gave a severer blow to their prestige than their policy in the Transvaal. In 1904, in spite of protests from New Zealand, Cape Colony, and Australia, colonies which had given excellent support in the war, the Government sanctioned an Ordinance to employ Chinese labour in the mines of the Transvaal. These Chinese were to be indentured for a term of years, kept in compounds, and not to have the rights of citizenship. This was considered equivalent to upholding slavery.

Meanwhile a Departmental Committee under Sir W. Butler had been investigating the supplying of stores for the South African War. Their findings were so scandalous that the country was aroused to fierce anger on account of the outrageous mismanagement in the hospital arrangements, remounts, and meat contracts.

On July 20, 1905, on the vote for the Irish Land Act Commission, the Government was beaten, Mr. John Redmond's amendment to reduce the vote being carried by a majority of four. **Mr. Balfour resigns, Nov., 1905.** Mr. Balfour, realising the impending doom, refused to resign or dissolve. But he appealed in vain to his party to unite on fiscal policy. Mr. Chamberlain, who wielded greater influence than any other member, and the Protectionists would not yield. Therefore in November Mr. Balfour tendered his resignation.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was then summoned to form a Ministry. Mr. Asquith became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary; Mr. Haldane, Secretary for War; Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Home Secretary; Mr. John (afterwards Viscount) Morley, Secretary for India; Mr. Bryce, Chief Secretary for Ireland; Mr. Lloyd George, President of the Board of Trade. The new Government resolved at once to appeal to the constituencies.

Chinese Labour, 1904.

War Scandals.

Mr. Balfour resigns, Nov., 1905.

Campbell-Bannerman's Ministry, 1906.

Overwhelming disaster befell the Conservatives, who secured only 156 seats in the new Parliament. The Liberals numbered 400; the Nationalists 83; the Independent Labour 30. The Ministry was exceptionally strong in talent, but its legislative activity was largely nullified by the hostile attitude of the House of Lords. Not since the rise of the democracy has the Upper House dealt so freely, either by drastic amendments or by rejection, with the bills of the House of Commons.

Nevertheless the Government proved prolific in useful legislation. Its first act was to reform the law of Trade Unions. This had become necessary in view of the Taff Vale decision of the High Court, which made it possible to sue Trade Unions for damages. That decision was now repealed. This was followed by a Workmen's Compensation Act, extending the principle of the Act of 1897. It declared that compensation should be given to workmen for all accidents resulting from their employment, whether due to the employer's fault or not. In the same year a Merchant Shipping Act made foreign passenger steamers trading to the United Kingdom subject to the same rules as British steamers.

The outstanding feature in the legislation of these years was the attention given to social questions. The Small Holdings and Allotments Act, which was passed in 1907, appealed to the rural population. Its main object was to give further facilities for the provision of small holdings and allotments to be let to tenants. This end was to be secured by joint action on the part of the State and local authorities, so that those who were anxious to obtain land for small holdings could receive it. But the most revolutionary piece of social legislation hitherto placed on the statute book was the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908. It provides for the grant of pensions to all persons of seventy years of age and upwards, the funds to be provided from the national Exchequer. Where the claimant's means, apart from the pension, do not exceed £21 a year, the amount of the pension is 5s. weekly. Above that amount a sliding scale is adopted, under which the pension is reduced until, when a claimant's means exceed £31 10s. a year, no pension is payable.

Of a similar nature was the Provision of Meals Act (1906) which

empowered the local Education Authority to provide food for underfed school children, where voluntary effort is not forthcoming. In 1909 a Housing and Town Planning Act was passed. It amends the law relating to the housing of the working classes, and deals with insanitary areas and unhealthy dwellings. Its provisions relating to town planning mark a new departure in legislation in this country, the object being to supervise the orderly growth of towns and do away with slums.

Not less important were the laws passed relating to trade and trade unions. The Trade Disputes Act safeguarded the funds of trade unions. In 1907 the Patents Act was passed.

Trade. It endeavours to check the system under which foreign manufacturers have hitherto been enabled to take out patents in this country without any intention of working them here, so as to prevent British manufacturers from producing articles which might compete with them. The effect of the Act will be to

Patents Act, 1907. revoke British patents which are worked abroad, or to induce patentees to erect their factories in Britain, and so bring new industries to the country. The Coal Mines Regulation Act (1908) set a legal limit of eight hours to be spent below ground. A notable effort to minimise unemployment was the

Labour Exchanges, 1909. Labour Exchanges Act of 1909. It established a national system of labour exchanges, maintained by Parliament, by which the unemployed of one district can receive information as to where workmen are needed.

In 1907 a Court of Criminal Appeal was set up. Hitherto only persons who had suffered an adverse judgment in civil cases had the right of appeal, and the absence of a similar court for criminal cases had resulted in miscarriage of justice. This could now be obviated.

It was on the Education Question that the Government experienced its most serious difficulties. No sooner had Mr. Birrell introduced the first Education Bill than a fierce, embittered controversy was aroused. The Education Act of 1902, while insisting on rate aid for voluntary schools, did not at the same time place those schools under popular control. The distinctive feature of the Government Bill was to place all public elementary schools under public local control, while at the same time providing facilities for denominational teaching. The House of Lords insisted on a distinctively Church

of England atmosphere in the voluntary schools. The Lords' amendments altered the fundamental principles of the Bill, and they were rejected by the Commons by a majority of 309. Further attempts were made to settle the education controversy in 1907 and 1908. But it became apparent that the concurrence of the Church could not be obtained, without which no Bill could pass the House of Lords.

Meanwhile the separate national claims of Wales were recognised. In 1902 Mr. Balfour had passed an Act extending to graduates of the Welsh University privileges enjoyed by graduates of other British Universities. Later the Liberal Ministry set up a Welsh Department to deal with all educational matters relating exclusively to Wales. Wales has always made extraordinary efforts in education. This creation is calculated to do much to promote educational efficiency, in that the administration will be placed in the hands of Welshmen. In 1906 a Royal Commission was appointed to examine the condition of the Church of England in Wales.

The Welsh Department.

In 1908 the Government attempted to amend the Licensing Bill of 1904, with a view to the complete recovery by the State, with due regard to existing interests, of its property in licences for the sale of intoxicating liquor. It also endeavoured to prevent the growth of drinking clubs. The Bill passed the Commons by a majority of 237, but was rejected by the Lords on its second reading.

Licensing Bill, 1908.

Meanwhile Ireland was restless. Owing to the prevalence of cattle-driving and other forms of agrarian disorder, certain counties were proclaimed. Soon order was restored. New regulations for land purchase and the restoration of evicted tenants were introduced in 1906, so as to amend the Irish Land Act of 1903. In 1908, the Royal University of Ireland was abolished. In its stead two new Universities were set up at Dublin and Belfast respectively, both to be autonomous and free from religious tests.

Ireland.

In 1907 the Imperial Conference met. It was attended by representatives of all the self-governing Colonies, including Sir Wilfred Laurier, Canadian Premier, and General Botha, our enemy in the South African War. It thus constituted a memorable landmark in the history of the British Empire. It was productive of several important

The Imperial Conference, 1907.

improvements in Imperial organisation. The Conference has been rendered a permanent institution, which will meet every four years. New Zealand and Australia agreed to give a battleship each, the Commonwealth Government agreeing to maintain the Australian unit of the Pacific Fleet and the dockyards at Sydney. As a result of the Conference the Colonial Office has been reorganised, with a view to distinguishing between self-governing Colonies, and Crown Colonies or Protectorates. New Zealand was raised to the status of a Dominion. The Canadian Government undertook the maintenance of Halifax dockyards. In regard to military defence, a plan was drawn up for so organising the forces of the Crown that the forces of the Dominions could be rapidly combined with those of the United Kingdom into one homogeneous Imperial army.

Democratic constitutions were conferred upon the Transvaal in 1906, and on the Orange River Colony in 1907. The reconciliation of the two white races in South Africa into one great South Africa Act, 1909. Afrikander nation under the British flag is now all but complete. Following upon this, the Government in 1909 passed a South Africa Act, providing for the union of Cape Colony, the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange River Colony, for the admission of Rhodesia, and for the eventual transfer to the Union of the government of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland Protectorate. In 1910 Viscount Gladstone became the first Governor-General of United South Africa; and General Botha, our erstwhile enemy, first Prime Minister.

In 1907 for the first time Indians were appointed to be members of the Indian Council, one of the most important steps in Indian administration since the assumption on the part of India. Britain of full regal authority. In 1910 Lord Kitchener returned to England, having completed the work of reorganising the Army administration there.

The Army Reform or Territorial Act of 1907 grappled with the defences of the country. The old Volunteer Force consisted of a miscellaneous collection of units without a uniform Army Reform, 1907. organisation, and without definite functions. Mr. Haldane's scheme has replaced the Volunteers by the Territorial Force, which constitutes a second Line Army in the reorganised military system. The Territorial Army is formed on the same pattern as the regular Army, with the main purpose

of enabling the regular Army to be employed abroad without danger to the country itself. The administration is entrusted to specially created county associations.

In April, 1908, the death of the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, necessitated changes in the Ministry. He was succeeded in the Premiership by Mr. Asquith. Mr. Lloyd George became Chancellor of the Exchequer, his place at the Board of Trade being taken by Mr. Winston Churchill; Mr. McKenna succeeded Lord Tweedmouth at the Admiralty; Mr. Birrell was Chief Secretary for Ireland; and Mr. John Burns President of the Local Government Board.

**Mr.
Asquith's
Ministry,
1908.**

Mr. Lloyd George's Budget of 1909 absorbed all other questions. During his administration of the Board of Trade the new Chancellor, a gifted Welshman, had proved that, apart from his unrivalled powers of oratory, he possessed conspicuous sagacity in dealing with conflicting interests, and the highest statesmanship in the work of legislation. Old Age Pensions was his handiwork. His Budget of 1909 was as daring in its conception as it was comprehensive in its scope, and, like the earlier Budgets of Mr. Gladstone, ushered in a new epoch in taxation. It astonished the House, if only by the time occupied in its delivery.

**Mr. Lloyd
George.**

**The Budget,
1909.**

The Budget of 1909 was introduced on April 29, and passed through the House of Commons on November 4, by a majority of 230 (379-149). Additional expenditure on Old Age Pensions and the Navy made it necessary to resort to some new sources of taxation. This was to be done as follows: Income Tax on unearned incomes was to be 1s. 2d. in the £, with a super-tax on all incomes above £5,000. The death duties were increased, as well as the duties on licences for the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor. But the chief feature, and that which provoked the bitterest controversy, was the taxation of land values. An increment duty was placed on land which had increased in value on account of its site. This was to be at the rate of one-fifth of the increase of the site value of the land over its value for agricultural purposes. There was also a small duty on undeveloped land. The Bill also provided for a systematic valuation of all the land in the United Kingdom. Half the proceeds of the land value duties were to be appropriated to relieve local taxation.

The House of Lords refused to pass the Bill, a rash stroke which unloosed a tempest of excitement. For in doing so the Lords not only arrogated to themselves the control of taxation, which by constitutional usage has become the right of the Commons, but also thereby assumed the power to force a dissolution of Parliament, hitherto recognised as the sole prerogative of the Crown. Their action also implied that the House of Lords became a more important assembly than the representatives of the people in the House of Commons. On December 2, 1909, the Commons replied by passing a resolution "that the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provision made by this House for the service of the year is a breach of the Constitution, and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons" (349-134).

It was impossible for the Ministry to remain in office any longer. Mr. Asquith therefore dissolved Parliament. The elections were carried on with extraordinary enthusiasm and energy on both sides, and the Government was returned to power by a majority of over 100. During this political unrest the King, apparently, attempted to bring about a settlement of the controversy between the two Houses. It did not succeed. Soon after the opening of the new Parliament, on March 7, he left for Biarritz.

He returned to London on April 27. On May 6 he died at Buckingham Palace. The pomp of his funeral bore testimony to his widespread popularity, for it was attended by eight of the crowned heads of Europe. Mainly through his brilliant diplomacy, cordial relations were established between Britain and the chief Powers of Europe. Marriage alliances were consummated between King Alfonso of Spain and the King's niece Victoria, as well as between King Haakon of Norway and the King's daughter Maud, all tending towards European peace.

King Edward's reign was characterised by the advance made in science. Among the many inventions which add to the comfort and progress of the human race few can be ranked higher than that of wireless telegraphy. On January 19, 1903, the first messages by this means were exchanged between King Edward and President Roosevelt of the United States. In 1908 the Penny Post was established between Britain and America.

On May 6, George V ascended the throne. On the one hand he inherits an Empire, the greatest the world has ever seen. The self-governing colonies are united to the mother country by bonds which grow closer year by year. Here the sky is fair. In order to deal more efficiently with imperial interests, the Imperial Parliament will be constrained to delegate much of its control over local affairs to provincial parliaments. But the most momentous, as it is the most immediate question which the new King will have to face, will be the balance of power between the two Houses. The Liberals have resolved not to take office again without a sufficient guarantee that their legislative efforts will not be thwarted by the House of Lords, which at present is a predominantly Conservative body. The moment calls for the highest statesmanship. Considering that the Principality is the most democratic part of the United Kingdom, it is significant that there should be in the van of the pending struggle over the veto of the House of Lords one of the most brilliant sons of Wales.

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